IMMIGRATION IN THE UNITED STATES AND SPAIN:
CONSIDERATION FOR EDUCATIONAL LEADERS

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We thank the authors and their valuable insights on international immigration issues. Their scholarly opinions and work are expressed openly herein, and each has provided the rich reading content in their respective chapters. Finally, we acknowledge the readers of the book and hope that within this text, they will find intellectual stimulation and a challenge to action related to immigrant issues around the world.

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Rafael Lara-Alecio

Beverly J. Irby

Tomás Calvo-Buezas

Tito Guerrero

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Preface

Public school administrators, teachers, and professors are no less affected by political and public issues as they affect their campuses and the students they serve than is the general society. In order to impact policy, curriculum, instruction, learning, and family involvement, information regarding the immigration in the latter part of the 20th Century and in the first decade of the 21st Century is crucial.

IMMIGRATION IN THE UNITED STATES AND SPAIN: CONSIDERATIONS FOR EDUCATIONAL LEADERS

Tomás Calvo-Buezas

Catedrático de Antropología de Iberoamérica, U.C.M. (España)

Director del Centro de Estudios sobre Migraciones y Racismo, CEMIRA

Public school administrators, teachers, and professors are no less affected by political and public issues as they affect their campuses and the students they serve than is the general society. In order to impact policy, curriculum, instruction, learning, and family involvement, information regarding the immigration in the latter part of the 20th Century and in the first decade of the 21st Century is crucial. For example, the students in schools up through 2050 will continue to grow in color and language differences. The Census Bureau projects that by 2050, one-quarter of the population will be of

Hispanic descent, and, subsequently, the English language learner population will continue to grow. There are grave educational, public, and political issues that must be considered by administrators and teachers in schools, as well as education professors, as they lead in educating all children, including the fastest-growing immigrant population, Hispanics.

Politics makes reference, particularly, to power; and there are many fronts in which power is developed and influenced, such as the Hispanic political influence, which ranges from electoral power to presence in different public administrations, in federal state and municipal governments, as public government employees, etc, etc. But there are other power spaces, which therefore carry political weight, where that power is exerted: in the economy, business and the labor force, social mass media, the education system, etc. This Hispanic political power in the United States is increasing, thanks to two factors mainly: their demographic weight with vertiginous growth and the increase of Hispanic population's spending power with Latin business on the rise. Here are some numbers as proof of that demographic power. In 1980, there were 14 million Hispanics; in 1990 there were 22 million, and in 2004 there are about 40 million, without counting the "undocumented people," that are estimated at around six million. In other words, in 1980 Hispanics represented 6.4% of the North American total population; in 1990 they were 9%; in 2004, they were 12%. And it will continue to grow, as much due to new migrations as to the increasing birthrates of Hispanics, more than any other group. By 2005, it is calculated that there will be 62 million Hispanics, 18.2% of the population of the United States, and in 2050 it is estimated that there will be 98 million Hispanics, 24.3% of the US, a greater population than the original group of Anglo-Saxons. And this is not only demographic power, but also political power.

This rise is demonstrated in the increasing Hispanic vote, compared by both parties in state and municipal elections, and even federal[footnote]. Here, numbers are power, and "one man, one vote" favors Hispanics positively, and turns them –although they are socially despised, underestimated, poor, and some even exploited– into a "political power," coveted by the Parties in struggle. There are more Hispanics all the time; more are registered, and exercise their vote. And on the other hand they are more diversified–not

only economically and ideologically— but also in their preference of the different Parties. With the failed dream of the Ethnic Political Formation, la "Raza Unida Party" during the 60s and 70s, the Republican Party is growing in popularity among Hispanics, although Latinos continue to mainly vote for the Democratic Party.

T. Calvo Buezas, "Ronald Reagan, Partidos Políticos y la minoría hispana en Estados Unidos", en **Revista de Política Comparada**, Universidad Menéndez Pelayo, núm.5, 1981, págs. 177 – 198. See also "ploítica hispana en los Estados Unidos", en "La dimensión hispana", en **Cuadernos de la Escuela Diplomática,** nº 26, Madrid, 2004, pp 91-99.

The 60s and 70s are long gone, in which the Democratic candidate, such as John Kennedy obtained 90% of the Hispanic vote: in 1976 Democrat J. Carter obtained 81% of the Hispanic vote, and the republican Gerald R. Ford 19%; nevertheless in 1980, Carter obtained 17% and Republican Ronald Reagan obtained 25%. The vote for the Republican Party has increased since then, particularly with the Cuban vote and a "Latin enterprise elite" in the United States. Success on all fronts, including the takeover of power at the state and municipal level in Florida, especially Miami (the clearest example, though the same can be said at the regional level), of the ascending political power of Hispanics in the United States. Here is the title to a Spanish newspaper in 2004: "The battle for Florida. Bush and Kerry are convinced that the elections are won in the peninsula of the South" (El País, April 22, 2004). And in Florida, the Cuban-Americans have a lot to say about this.

In the most recent 2008 elections, Hispanics went to the polls to vote in record numbers. Their votes were increased by 25% over the 2004 elections. Hispanics mobilized in voting blocks for the Democratic party in states across the country and threw 67% of their votes to Barak Obama (Preston, New York Times Reader 2.0, November 6, 2008)

The Greatest Hispanic Political Power: Its Demography and Cultural Singularity

What I wish to emphasize here is what I have been insisting on for many years, from my doctoral thesis on Chicanos in January of 1976, and have

continued in my following publications[footnote].

My publications about Hispanics, among others, are the following: T.Calvo Buezas, **Los más pobres en el país más rico: clase, religión y etnia en le movimiento campesino chicano** (Editorial Encuentro, Madrid, 1981), "Nación, Imperio y Lengua: el idioma español en los Estados Unidos", en **Revista Española de Antropología** Americana, nº XI, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Madrid, 1981. "Hispanos en Estados Unidos y Cultura", en **Las Culturas Hispánicas en los Estados Unidos de América,** Asociación Hispano-Cultural Norteamericana, Madrid, 1978. "Ronald Reagan, Partidos Políticos y Minoría Hispana en Estados Unidos", en **Revista de Política** Comparada, nº 5, Universidad Internacional Menéndez y Pelayo, Madrid, 1981. "Puertorriqueños y Otros Hispanos: Integración y Desigualdad en una ciudad neoyorquina", en **Revista Española de Antropología Americana**, nº 14, Universidad Complutense, Madrid, 1984. "Cooperación Académica, Universidad e Investigación: Programas Especiales para Hispanos", en R. Cortina y A. Moncada (coods.) **Hispanos en U.S.A.** ICI, Madrid, 1988. "Una mirada antropológica a los Hispanos de EE.UU. desde hace más de 25 años (1973-2002)", en J.L. Ponga y M. F. Rice (Coords), **Beyond Our Borders**, Universidad de Valladolid y Universidad de Texas, Valladolid, 1993, pp-533-556. (T.Calvo Buezas). **Muchas Américas. Cultura, sociedad y política en América Latina**, (Ediciones Universidad Complutense/ICI, Madrid, 1990).(T. Calvo Buezas y M.J.Buxó, (Eds.) **Cultura Hispana de los Estados Unidos de América,** Madrid, Ediciones Cultura Hispánica, 1990.

The Conference on Hispanics, celebrated in Alcala de Henares, with the collaboration of the Complutense University, on Hispanic Power (1992), presented an address on "the traps of the Empire: there will be no Hispanic power without Hispanic culture," in which in a very radical way, I expose the nucleus of my position with respect to the great "political" weight, that represents the Hispanic cultural derivative, and that I transcribe literally.

My ideological-axiological posit, and at the same time general hypothesis, is that to measure the success or progress of Hispanics –as a national group– with the same indicators of the global dominant society, i.e., the levels of political power according to the number of senators and deputies, the purchasing power entered, the schooling indices, the level of

consumption, etc. –being important for the individuals and significant to the Hispanic group level— they are politically secondary; in fact, if Hispanics "obsess" as a group in "competing in those same indicators of power" (political, economic, institutional, educative) with the dominant society, they have swallowed the decoy, and have fallen in the traps of the Empire, which are money and power, sands where they will never be able to win – not even to compete with— the dominant society, accomplishing, in addition, to castrate the towns, minority groups, in the fields, where their maximum power really is, that is in its culture, identity, capacity to form a "communist-nation-city." Therefore the Hispanic community must appear, as a "group unit," within the US, but different from the majority society, demanding their right to the difference, simultaneously participating and "feeling" the North American common citizenship, that is also a dimension of their global identity.

It is necessary to accept, without humiliation, that "we have less" –and that we will probably never have as much as other ethnic groups in the US, but to "have" less, does not mean to "be" less. There is the principle of pride and dignity of the nation: to be less tall, less rich, less politically powerful, less instructed institutionally, that does not mean to "be" less than others that "have" more, although it exists in the individuals' and nation's legitimate desire and effort to surpass themselves in those areas.

Consequently the traps of the Empire are to accept the axiological and valuable paradigm of social Darwinism, with the dynamics of competition of "the strongest, the greatest, the richest, or most powerful." It is not only the quantity, but the quality of life and culture that should be the comparative indicator of development, value, and wealth of nations.

From that derives my affirmation as the axiological posit: "there will be no Hispanic power without Hispanic culture." Or said in another way: our power –our great power— more than the political and economic, is and will be our culture: everything else –I repeat, at a group level, not individual— are traps, decoys, propaganda, and techniques of the Empire to "deceive the fool" (Calvo Buezas, Conference on the Hispanics, Alcala de Henares, 1992).

The Utopia of Hispanics in the XXI Century

In this same line of thought, in which our maximum power, with political weight, it is our cultural singularity, the Conclusions of the First Conference are situated in Spain on "Hispanic Cultures in the United States of America: Towards the new synthesis" (1988), that counted on a numerous attendance of Hispanics of different national origins, and that proclaimed the following political message, except with cultural ethnic clothes:

1. "We affirm the radical right of the nations, singularly the Hispanic ones, to be the protagonists of its history and the creators of its project of life in the community, condemning all form of domination and ethnic and racial discrimination, and proclaiming the exigency of a real and effective pluralism, with respect to all the minority cultures that form the American and European societies.

2. We proclaim our identity as Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, and other Hispano-Americans with pride, demanding respect for our identity as a nation and the recognition of our singular past, present, and future contribution to the historical creation and development in the United States of America.

3. We commit to look for and to deepen the common roots of the culture and history of all those that form the Hispanic nation, as much in America and Europe as of any part of the world.

4. We as European congressmen, and singularly Spaniards, show our solidarity and support the process of the cultural creation of Hispanics in America that bravely defend their identity, language, and culture, and constitute a model for other nations of ethnic minorities, that demand respect for the cultural difference as a foundation of all true democracy." (First Hispanic Conference, Spain, 1988).

The Conference, besides being a proclamation of intercultural communitarian aspirations and experience, was an academic interdisciplinary form with a serious and fecund university task. The benefit was more than a hundred addresses and communications that were presented at the Conference[footnote].

These addresses (767 pages) and these conclusions can be consulted, in the work publisher by the Spanish organizers of this conference, M.J.Buxó y T. Calvo Buezas (Eds.) **Culturas Hispanas de los Estados Unidos de América,** Madrid, Ediciones Cultura Hispánica, 1990.

A crucial agglutinant of that Hispanic cultural political power of the United States is the language. For that reason, the "English only" (Proposal R. Unz 227, California) is more than a battle, just for the "communication-information," it is a fight for the right to cultural difference, for autonomy as ethnic group, for vindication of the most powerful substrate of creation – ethno genesis– of a nationality in a plural-ethnic and plural-cultural State-Society.

Language, the Political Weapon of Hispanics in the U.S.

The Spanish language is multiplied –with political and economic power– in the social mass media; television, press, and radio. *Univisión* was ranked as the fifth largest television network in the United States in 1998, reaching 52% of 30 million Hispanics in the US. And in that same year, *Nueva Mega*, a radio transmitter in Spanish, has been ranked first in the metropolitan area of New York... "If yesterday was missions, today is emissions."

Thirty-five million Hispanics live, work, suffer, enjoy, sing, and pray in Spanish in the United States. They belong to the "Latin American Community" because of history, culture, language, race, and religion. Hispanics are and belong to the North American society by their nationality, their work, their participation in social and political life, and because of many customs and ways of life, including the use of their language; this is an identity sign that differentiates them from their national culture of origin, and from the rest of the Latin American nations. But their cultural soul, their vision of the world, radically opposed to the Anglo-American, their sentimental heartbeat and roots of belonging, the keys of their temporality and axiology, that is to say, their "pathos," "ethos," and "logos" move around the Hispano-American cultural orbit; they are Iberoamerica culturally, even though they are also North Americans and citizens with rights of this country. They are transnational ethnic communities in a

globalized world; that is the new dimension that differentiates them from old groups of European emigrants, like the Irish, Italian, Russians, in a world-wide network of the XIX and XX centuries, uncommunicative and more village-like, less globalized.

In this dialectic tension, sometimes antagonistic, of Hispanic North Americans, resides the explanation of many ambivalences and ambiguities, described improperly as schizophrenic; but it is in this tension where the key of its singularity and specialty as a nation resides as well, the source of its cultural wealth and historical challenge they are called to, contributing Anglo and Latin Americans, with a new form of living and feeling the world, a new culture, connected but different from their ancestors, one more pearl in the cultural creation of human history. Those that want to amputate one or another dimension of the Hispanic North American communities are mistaken; it is neither sociologically possible nor desirable. The historical mission of Hispanics in the United States is not the automatic reproduction of a copy of their culture, nor the castration mode of assimilation, or the mere sum of Hispanics and Anglo-Saxons; their commitment is to recreate, transfigure, and to dialectally surpass that duality in a new synthesis; it is to create a new culture and a new crossbreeding, that has been the most valuable and singular that has ever been produced, that we call the Latin American Community, a new society and a new culture of Hindu-Black-Iberian roots. [footnote] As it was written by Octavio Paz (ABC, 9-IV-1987): "This is a fact filled with hopes for the future: the communication between Hispanic minorities and Latin American nations has been and still is continuous. It is not presumable that it will be broken. It is a true community, not ethnic, or political, nor economic, but cultural."
Tomás Calvo Buezas "Una mirada antropológica a los Hispanos de EE.UU. desde hace más de 25 años (1973-2002)", en J.L. Ponga y M. F. Rice (Coords), **Beyond our borders**, Universidad de Valladolid y Universidad de Texas, Valladolid, 1993, pp-533-556.

Hispanics will continue to develop their heroic resistance on all fronts, demanding equality of opportunities at work and regarding education, equal treatment by the law, bilingual-bicultural education, greater representation in politics; they are extending the utilization of mediums of communication in Spanish, press, radio, television; they are creating movies, literature,

theater works, murals, poetry, paintings, in reality, an art that reflects their problems and utopias, reinforcing their identity and ethnic pride.

Three more factors, that are ordinarily silenced, contribute to the renewed survival of the Hispanic culture in the United States: the religious communitarian experience in language and in a traditional ritual-festive way of the Hispano-American popular religiosity; folklore dance-music-food in the version of mariachis, salsa, or other versions; and the mothers and grandmothers who teach their children to pray in Spanish.

The person who has been sung to sleep, blessed, or danced in Spanish, will always conserve a permanent mark pertaining to a nation and a singular culture; a nation that by its braid of language-race-religion-family-art-folklore and for its vocalist temporality, historically forms part of the Latin American Community, having the exciting challenge to create in the heart of the richest and most powerful society of the world a new and singular version of Hispanic culture, within the ample mosaic of Hindu-Black-Latin American national cultures. But being a contributor and citizen nation with rights of the United States, where they are called to make their historical destiny and heroic commitment: "the historical and spiritual mission of the Hispanic minority in the American democracy - as written by Octavio Paz - consists in expressing the vision that represents our culture and our language. The United States has become, not without slips, during the past 30 years, in a multiracial democracy; the first in history. The action of the Hispanic community can be the beginning of another great historical mutation: the coexistence of a plurality of cultures within a democratic society. It would be the dawn of a true universal civilization."[footnote]
Octavio Paz, **Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos**, Madrid, ICI, nº 44, junio de 1987.

"The Hispanic Threat," According to Samuel Huntington

The thesis of Samuel Huntington in *Who are We?* (2004), visualizes Mexican immigration as a threat to the "white and Protestant United States," valorizing the WASP as the only culture in the US; it has been criticized from ample and diverse sectors. "Masked Racist," has been the title of an article on Huntington's thesis of Carlos Fuentes (*El Pais*, 23-III-

2004); "The False Prophet," denominated by Enrique Krauze (*El Pais*, 13-IV-2004). Latin "Barbarians" at the Empire's door? The sociologist Samuel Huntington prophesies that the Mexican "invasion" will be the finish of American progress, as titled in *El Mundo*, (22-III-2004), which translates an article of Dan Glaister of the London newspaper *The Guardian*. "The Genius of Crossbreeding" was the title the magazine *Letras Libres de Mexico*, gave its cover and editorial in response to S. Huntington's thesis (April 2004, Year VI, number 64), in which the danger of "the United States is on the way to fracturing in two parts, with two divorced cultures and two languages," the Magazine notices that "the culture and the progress are children of the mix; and that the Mexicans know something of that... it shows that our culture has been inclusive for centuries, and crossbreeding is our particular genius: here, the Indian and the Spanish merged with admirable results." Jose Vidal-Beneyto also criticized S. Huntington, accusing his position of fundamentalism in an article titled "The Hispanic Danger" (*El Pais*, 28-V-2004). Also the newspaper of Catalonia, *La Vanguardia*, (30-V-2004) becomes the echo of Huntington's book in an editorial advance of his book *Who we are?The challenges of the American national identity* (Paidos, 2004).

Foreign Policy, F.P., in its Spanish edition (April/May 2004), gathers chapter 9 of S. Huntington's book *Who are We?* (2004), and in the editorial of F.P., titled *Shock of Civilizations* the magazine writes:

In its list of civilizations, Huntington included, strangely, a "Latin American" one. Today, he returns to find a new shock between the Anglo-protestant principles and those of Hispanics, mainly Mexican, in the US, that, according to how he presents it, they threaten to turn into the greatest power of the globe –according to Walter Russell Mead— into a nation with two "people", two cultures, and two languages. The cultural division between Hispanic and Anglos could replace the one of blacks and whites, as the central crisis of that society. In year of elections, when the Hispanic vote can be decisive, the question on Huntington's next book of *Who are We?* must give rise to controversy. (F.P., 2004)

It is not the moment, nor does time allow, to thoroughly review the analysis of S. Huntington's position, but I, being in agreement in negatively

describing him as a xenophobe, desire to expose my opinion, which may sound politically incorrect. My hypothesis is the following.

The analysis of the phenomenon of the Hispanic presence, particularly Mexican, in the US, as a singular "total social fact," different from the other ethnic migrations, non-assimilable by the "melting pot" machine, with deep consequences in all the North American society, originating a Hispanic-Latin cultural differential fact, of a great historical political power, agrees in many aspects (not all) with the type of description and analysis of the phenomenon, that has been made by other authors and US leaders. And like sand, we have produced a people, in which I count myself, over a long time. Samuel Huntington has sociologically described a social phenomenon, which does exist, and anticipates its social consequences, cultural and political. Up to here, in my opinion, it can sociologically be described as acceptable, then where does my critic and total discrepancy with S. Huntington come from? I disagree with Huntington in the "ideological-axiological" evaluation of the phenomenon: which he describes as a "threat" of "invasion" of the different strangers, of danger to the unit, roots, and existence of the United States. That is a negative fear, a shady vision of the American future that I do not share. I do not think that it ends in "two nations, two languages, totally separated," as Huntington thinks, but in the United States' future, in which Hispanics are a substantial cultural-civil dimension of the United States for half of the XXI Century.[footnote]
To show my interest and position on this subject, I cite one of my essays from the Magazine **Foreign Policy** (2004). When transcribing Huntignton's article under the title "something else." The magazine cites nine works on this subject, all in english, except the my chapter: "Puertorriqueños y otros hispanos: integración y desigualdad en una ciudad neoyorquina", en *Muchas Américas, cultura, sociedad y política en América Latina* (Editorial Complutense, ICI, Madrid, 1990).

I am in agreement in the description of the phenomenon and of some consequences, but my evaluation of that fundamental future of highest Hispanic cultural power, I describe and evaluate it –unlike Huntington— as a positive, enriching civilization, "made in the US," that not only greatens Hispanics, but all the North American society. Indeed one of the maximum contributions of the United States has been this: to be a nation of

immigrants, and therefore of different culture-language-religions-temporality. It is very beautifully proclaimed by the national American motto: "E Pluribus Unum."

The historical mission of the Hispanics in the United States is to contribute, enrich, and make the United States more plural, with its language, sensitivity, ways of life, art, religiosity, values, with temporality for life and the world, and with its own civilized dimension. And that is its greatest potential, not only cultural, but political in the long term. Against what Huntington proclaims, that "the American dream" is only possible to be dreamt in English, the Hispanics will demonstrate that the American dream can also be dreamt in Spanish and Hispanic-Latino American culture.

The Changing Demography of Latino Immigrants in the United States:
From 1980 to Present
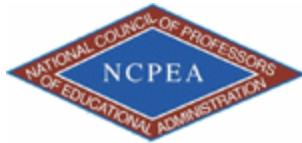
The Changing Demography of Latino Immigrants in the United States: From 1980 to the Present

Rogelio Saenz & Carlos Siordia

The population of the United States has experienced tremendous changes in its racial and ethnic composition over the last several decades (Saenz 2004). It has been the Latino population in particular, that has disproportionately helped change the racial and ethnic composition of the U.S. population. Indeed, the Latino population in the United States expanded by 2.5 times between 1980 and 2000 compared to a growth of 24% in the nation's population. In fact, even though Latinos accounted for only about 6% of the population of the United States in 1980, they would account for approximately 40% of all persons added to the U.S. population between 1980 and 2000. In 2003, the U.S. Census Bureau designated Latinos as the nation's largest minority group.

The magnified growth rates of the Latino population are due to several demographic factors. First, the Latino population has a young population structure with approximately one third of Latinos being less than 18 years of age. Second, the Latino population has relatively high fertility levels.

Third, the Latino population has relatively low mortality levels, even after the young age structure of the population is taken into account. Finally, immigration from Latin America continues to be larger than that of other regions of the world. The largest segment of the Latino population—Mexicans, who account for three-fifths of this group— rank the highest on each of these four demographic factors.

Population projections indicated that the Latino population will continue to drive U.S. demographic changes in the coming decades. Indeed, the Latino population represents the engine of the national population growth in the 21st century. Even if immigration from Mexico to the United States were stopped immediately, the current demographic profile of the Latino population would propel this growth over the coming decades. Indeed, while whites had roughly a unitary ratio of one birth to every one death in its population, the Latino population had eight births to every one death in its population.

Given the strength of the Latino population in the changing demography of the United States, there are major ongoing debates related to the future of the country and the impact of the Latino population in these changes. Are Latino populations in the United States a threat or a new civilization? There are many perspectives about Latino immigrants among people in this country. These views range from the immigrant-hostile to the immigrant-embracing dispositions. Latinos are a major ethnic group in the United States and this knowledge provokes some social-cultural anxieties. Many question how the growing number of Latino immigrants will impact the U.S. economy. How will their presence influence the educational system? Are these immigrant populations having an influence on criminal rates and incarcerations? Will Spanish have to become the second national language? Questions like these and many more are at the forefront of the immigration discourse.

In this chapter, we seek to present a demographic profile of the Latino population over the course of three decades— 1980 to 2000— using a U.S. decennial data. Because the Mexican-origin population represents the largest segment of the Latino population (approximately more than three-fifths are Mexican) and have the longest presence in this country (extending

back to the signing of the Treat of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848), the analysis will provide an overview of the overall Latino and Mexico immigrant populations. The analysis focuses on several key demographic and socioeconomic attributes of the population. We conclude with a discussion of the implications of the demographic and socioeconomic attributes of Latino immigrants on the institutions of the country. In order to understand the changes that will be outlined below, we begin by offering an historical context.

Historical Context

Immigration from Latin America —more specifically from Mexico— is well entrenched in U.S. immigration policy and the periodic establishment of programs between Mexico and the United States. No other country besides Mexico has sent immigrants to the United States on a consistent basis since the early parts of the 20th century. While Mexicans tended to move freely between across the Mexico-U.S. border during the 19th century and early 20th century, the volume of immigration rose dramatically in the 1910s during the Mexican Revolution. Spreading violence and social chaos in Mexico pushed Mexicans while U.S. employers pulled them to this country as well. Beginning in the 1880s, the United States had virtually halted Asian immigration, and had significantly reduced immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe beginning in the late 1910s. The void for cheap labor peaked with the passage of the National Origins Quota Acts of 1921 and 1924. U.S. employers readily welcomed Mexican immigrants to fill such jobs. Indeed, U.S. employers depending heavily on Mexican laborers pushed to exempt Mexicans from the requirements of the Immigration Act of 1917 (exempting them from literacy requirements and head tax fees) and excluding Mexico (along with the remainder of the Americas) from immigration quotas. The special treatment of Mexican immigrants at this time illustrates the deep linkages between the U.S. and Mexican governments in sustaining a steady supply of labor to the United States, a pattern that has been played out repeatedly.

However, the state of the U.S. economy has generally been the primary barometer for the degree to which Mexican immigrants have been welcomed or shunned in this country. For example, following the onslaught

of the Great Depression in 1929, the United States established a repatriation program to send Mexicans back to Mexico, which resulted in the repatriation of approximately 1.5 million Mexicans.

Nonetheless, the demand for manual labor in the United States brought on by WWII and the absence of males in the labor market forced the U.S. government to change its immigration restrictive policies with the cooperation of the Mexican government. The two countries worked in unison for the importation of contract laborers to come from Mexico to the United States to fill this labor gap through the creation of the Bracero Program in 1942. The program was so popular among many U.S. employers—due to the cheap labor that it provided—that the Bracero Program was extended way past the end of WWII, finally ending in 1964. Approximately 4.6 million Mexicans came to the United States to work as *braceros*.

The Immigration Act of 1965 marked a significant shift in U.S. immigration policy with the establishment of provisions that allowed for the reunification of families. This 1965 amendment to the Immigration and Nationality Act abolished the nation-origin quotas and established the annual access of 170,000 visas for eastern hemisphere immigrants. While the United States was overhauling its immigration policy in 1965, the Mexican government established a program to allow foreign corporations —most of these from the United States— to set up assembly plants (i.e., *maquiladoras*) along its northern border and to hire Mexican labor. The Border Industrialization Program (BIP) was quite popular and resulted in much growth. However, because the assembly plants tended to prefer female —rather than male— employees, BIP served to expand the labor force rather than reduce the border region's unemployment rate.

About two decades later, the U.S. passed the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 (IRCA) which had three basic provisions: (a) the creation of an amnesty program (including an amnesty program for agricultural workers), (b) the guarantee of a sufficient agricultural workforce, and (c) sanctions against employers who knowingly hired undocumented immigrants. Approximately 2.3 million Mexicans participated in the IRCA program. One of the unintended consequences of

IRCA is that it led to a shift in employer-employee relations —introducing a middle tier consisting of subcontractors who were hired by employers to hire and supervise workers, many of whom were undocumented immigrants.

The last two decades have seen major debates over immigration; these deliberations focus on Mexican immigration. The polemic involves the opposing struggle between forces of globalization and nationalism (Richardson & Resendiz 2006). For example, the passage of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 1994 symbolizes the erasing of international borders involving Canada, Mexico, and the United States, at least in an economic sense. This measure advocates the opening of borders in the exchange of capital across international boundaries. Naturally, such forces of globalization stimulate the movement of people across international perimeters. However, there have been numerous nationalistic counter forces that pushed to close borders and/or restrict immigration, especially Mexican immigration. These forces have included the passage of Proposition 187 in California in 1994; efforts to make English the official language and to ban bilingual education; the rise of vigilante groups (e.g., the Minutemen Project) and the militarization of the U.S. southern border; the rise of measures to secure this border following 9-11; and ongoing debates over proposals to seal the border (e.g., the building of a wall).

The prevalence of immigration from Latin America and Mexico was well established in the United States over the last four decades (see Saenz et al. 2004). Data from the March 2000 Current Population Survey (U.S. Census Bureau 2001) indicate that 28.4 million foreign-born individuals were living in this country at the time, representing about one-tenth of the national population. Of the foreign-born, about one of every two (51%) was born in Latin America. However, Mexicans, in particular, dominate the immigrant population with 28 % of all foreign-born persons in the United States in 2000 being born in Mexico. Note that this level of prominence by a single country has not been witnessed since 1830 when Germany accounted for 30 % of all foreign-born individuals in the United States.

Having provided a brief historical overview of immigration from Latin America and especially Mexico in the United States, we now offer a

discussion of demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of Latin American and Mexican immigrants across three decades (1980, 1990, and 2000).

Data

Data from the 1980, 1990, and 2000 U.S. censuses are used to conduct the analysis. In particular, the data are from the 5% Public Use Microdata Sample (PUMS) for each of these decades. The PUMS consists of a 5% sample of individuals enumerated in the respective decennial census. Because of its focus on individuals and its large-scale nature (the 2000 5% PUMS contains over 14 million individuals), the PUMS data represent the best data source for gaining an understanding of the demographic and socioeconomic attributes of subpopulations (e.g., racial/ethnic groups, immigrants, etc.).

Our analysis focuses on Latino immigrants and Mexican immigrants (the largest segment of Latino immigrants). Latino immigrants consist of persons born outside of the United States (excluding those born abroad to U.S. citizens as well as those born in U.S. territories) who reported that they were of Latino or Hispanic origin. From this segment, Mexicans include those who indicated that they were of Mexican origin.

The analysis presented below is conducted using basic descriptive statistical techniques. In particular, we present overall summary statistics of the demographic and socioeconomic dimensions on which we focus for 1980, 1990, and 2000. These dimensions include the relative presence of immigrants in the Latino and Mexican populations; geographic distribution; age/sex composition; language use; educational attainment; and poverty.

Results

The results of our analysis provide broad information about important changes that took place amongst Latino and Mexican immigrants over the last three decades. This information will help our understanding of these groups of immigrants, especially since much of the extant work on Latino

and Mexican immigrants has tended to focus on the latest data available with relatively little comparison data.

The Relative Size of Immigrants

The volume of Latino immigration has been increasing for decades, particularly over the last several decades. As such, the overall population of Latinos now living in the U.S. is increasingly foreign-born. For example, the foreign-born comprised two-fifths of all Latinos in 2000, up from less than three-tenths in 1980 (Figure 1). The rising presence of immigrants is somewhat more impressive in the case of Mexicans, the group with the longest history in the United States. The foreign-born increased its portion of the overall Mexican population in the country from one-fourth in 1980 to two-fifths in 2000. Nonetheless, the majority —about three-fifths— of Latinos and Mexicans were born in the United States.

	1980	1990	2000
Mexican	28.3%	35.1%	40.1%
Mexican	25.6%	33.1%	41.4%

Figure 1. Percentage of the Latino and Mexican Populations who are Foreign-Born: 1980 - 2000

The Increasing Mexicanization of Latino Immigrants

While historically Mexicans have represented the majority of Latino immigrants, their dominance has increased over the last three decades. For example, Mexicans increased their %age of all Latino immigrants from 54 % in 1980, to 57 % in 1990, and to 61 % in 2000 (Figure 2). The increasing presence of Mexicans (i.e., those who immigrated in the last ten years) is

also apparent among the most recent group of Latino immigrants in each of the three decades. By 2000, Mexicans accounted for nearly two-thirds of Latino immigrants who came to the United States between 1990 and 2000.

	1980	1990	2000
Immigrants	53.8%	56.8%	61.3%
Recent Immigrants	59.2%	56.4%	65.2%

Figure 2. Percentage of Latino Total Immigrants and Recent Immigrants (Arrived in the Last Ten Years) Who are Mexican: 1980 - 2000

The Changing Distribution of Latino Immigrants: New Destinations

The Latino immigrant population has historically been concentrated in certain parts of the United States. For example, over the last three decades, the majority of Latino immigrants have been found in the Southwest (Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas). Nonetheless, the %age of Latino immigrants in this region declined somewhat between 1990 (60.5%) and 2000 (54.5%) (Figure 3). During the same period, Latino immigrants increased their presence in the Midwest, South, and western states other than Arizona, California, Colorado, and New Mexico.

	1980	1990	2000

Southwest	56.8%	60.5%	54.5%
Northeast	17.5%	15.5%	13.9%
Midwest	8.0%	6.2%	8.5%
South	15.7%	15.5%	18.6%
West	2.0%	2.4%	4.5%

Figure 3. Percentage Distribution of Latino Immigrants by Region: 1980 - 2000

The recent growth of Mexicans in new destination areas is illustrated by the shifting geographic distribution of Mexicans who immigrated in the last ten years in each of the three decades covered in this analysis (1980, 1990, and 2000). For instance, the share of recent Mexican immigrants in the Southwest dropped from 85% in 1980 to 63% in 2000 (Figure 5). Indeed, there were more than one-fourth fewer new immigrants (who came to this country within the last ten years of a given census) in the Southwest than were there in 1980. The other regions increased their share of recent Mexican immigrants. By 2000, slightly more than one-fourth of Mexican immigrants who came to this country between 1990 and 2000 were living in the South and Midwest.

	1980	1990	2000
Southwest	85.1%	84.0%	80.6%
Northeast	.9%	1.8%	3.3%
Midwest	10.2%	8.1%	9.4%

South	1.6%	3.1%	9.4%
West	2.2%	3.1%	5.7%

Figure 4. Percentage Distribution of Mexican Immigrants by Region: 1980 - 2000

The growth of Latinos in new destination regions has been quite impressive. Table 1 lists the ten states with the most rapid relative growth in the Latino (including Mexicans and all other Latino groups) population between 1990 and 2000. Aside from Nevada, these states are located in the South and Midwest. North Carolina had the most rapid growth with its Latino population increasing about five-fold between 1990 and 2000, with the Latino populations of Arkansas and Georgia quadrupling during this period. Other southern and midwestern states with the greatest levels of growth in the Latino population include Tennessee (278%), South Carolina (211%), Alabama (208%), Kentucky (173%), Minnesota (166%), and Nebraska (155%). It will be important to monitor the extent to which Latino newcomers in new destinations are racialized and become subject to discrimination, prejudice, and hostility or whether they are integrated into their new communities. While there are islands of hope where Latinos have been fairly well integrated—such as in Dalton, Georgia (see Hernandez-Leon and Zuniga 2003)—it is likely that Latinos are likely to encounter greater ill will in these regions (see Chiricos et al. 2001).

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The Age/Sex Composition of Immigrants

The Latino and Mexican immigrant populations are relatively young and most often male. In particular, the population is clustered in the young to middle age working age groups. Indeed, two-thirds of Latino immigrants are between the ages of 15 and 44 as is the case among seven of every ten Mexican immigrants. Furthermore, among immigrants 15 to 44 years of age, there are 123 males per 100 females among Latinos with the relative prominence of males being even higher among Mexicans (136 males per 100 females). Note that the immigrant population includes relatively few youngsters and elderly.

Language Use among Recent Immigrants

One of the barriers that immigrants —especially those with lower levels of education— encounter is that they are not proficient in the language of the host society. This is the case amongst Latino and, particularly, Mexican

immigrants who immigrated to the United States in the previous ten years before each decennial census examined here (Figure 6). Close to two-thirds of Mexican and three-fifths of Latino immigrants who moved to the United States between 1990 and 2000 spoke only Spanish in 2000 (i.e., they spoke Spanish at home and spoke English "not well" or "not at all"). Background analyses reveal, however, that the level of English proficiency increases with time in the United States. Such increasing English proficiency is positively related to wages among Latino immigrants (Dávila and Mora 2000).

	1980	1990	2000
Latinos	54.7%	54.4%	59.1%
Mexicans	64.6%	61.4%	64.0%

Figure 6. Percentage of Recently Arrived, Monolingual Mexican and Latino Immigrants: 1980 - 2000 Between the Ages of 15 and 44

Educational Attainment among Recent Immigrants

Latino immigrants have traditionally had low levels of education, particularly in the case of Mexican immigrants. This is still the case. For example, among recent immigrants (those immigrating between 1990 and 2000) only about 38 % of Latino recent immigrants and 29 % of Mexican recent immigrants had a high school diploma in 2000 (Figure 7). However, with each succeeding census, there has been a noticeable increase in the percentage of recent arrivals that have a high school diploma. Mexican immigrants in particular have shown a significant improvement in their educational attainment levels between 1980 and 2000.

	1980	1990	2000
Latino	32.5%	36.5%	38.4%
Mexican	17.9%	24.5%	29.3%

Figure 7. Percentage of Recently Arrived Mexican and Latino Immigrants Who Have Completed High School: 1980 - 2000

Poverty among Recent Immigrants

Low levels of education among immigrants are associated with high levels of poverty. Approximately three of every ten Latino and Mexican immigrants who immigrated to the United States between 1990 and 2000 had incomes that were considered below the poverty level in 1999 (the last full year in the case of the 2000 census which took place on April 1, 2000) (Figure 8). Data for the last three censuses show that the level of poverty among recent arrivals (those immigrating to the United States in the last ten years of each respective census) increased between 1979 and 1989 and then decreased in 1999.

	1980	1990	2000
Latino	28.0%	31.9%	29.2%
Mexican	31.0%	36.3%	31.4%

Figure 8. Percentage of Recently Arrived Mexican and Latino Immigrants With Incomes Below the Poverty Level

Conclusions

We have provided a demographic profile of the Latino population alongside the Mexican population, the largest segment of the Latino population. The Latino population, due to this group's young age structure, high levels of fertility, low mortality levels, and large volume of immigration, has driven the growth of the U.S. population disproportionately. Given the demographic profile of the Latino population, Latinos will continue to be the engine of the nation's population growth in the 21st century.

Population projections show the demographic trend of the "Latinozation" (reflecting the growth of the overall Latino population including Mexicans) in the United States over the coming decades. Latinos accounted for about 13% of the U.S. population in 2000. The Latino percentage share of the nation's population is projected to increase progressively over the coming decades. Latinos are expected to comprise one-fifth of the U.S. population by 2030 and nearly one-fourth by 2050. Indeed, over the 2000-2050 period, Latinos are projected to nearly triple (188% projected increase), while the White population is projected to increase by a mere 7%. The changing face of the United States will be increasingly Latino, especially in the young and working-age categories. In contrast, as the Baby Boom generation (born in 1946 to 1964) reaches retirement age beginning in 2011, the elderly population is likely to be disproportionately White.

Many are alarmed about these population trends and a segment of the U.S. population is experiencing socio-cultural anxiety. The complex nature of this topic requires analysis beyond the scope of this chapter. Suffice it to say for now that different interest groups have promoted and supported different interests at varying times in U.S. history (see Burns and Gimpel 2000). As we have illustrated in our analysis, over the last couple of decades we have seen the expansion of Latino immigrant settlements to points beyond the group's traditional settlement areas. Given the expansion of the Latino population, the social opinions that form the context of reception for these immigrants, range from hostility to embracement. Many views have influenced attitudes towards immigrant populations and these attitudes have colored the canvas of American history and identity. The social integration of the Latino population will be influenced by how they are received. There may be adverse consequences to the integration of Latinos if they experience racism, discrimination, prejudice, and hostility in their new

communities. It is likely that these new immigrants will encounter ill-will in many regions of the country and this will limit the accessibility of many social and material resources for new immigrants. Still, despite their long presence in the United States—especially in the case of persons of Mexican descent—many xenophobic attitudes are still projected onto them.

However the Latino population is looked upon, members of this population are critical to the future social and economic future of the United States. The advent of globalization is blurring many boundaries. Language, cultural, religious, and economic boundaries are being altered by the new developing transnationalization of capital and economic and labor market demands will continue to shift with globalization. Given projected demographic scenarios, the United States will have to rely increasingly on a Latino workforce.

In conclusion, the type of influence that the Latino population has on the United States depends in large part on how they are integrated—either in a constructive and welcoming fashion or in a marginalized and hostile fashion. If our educational system embraces Latinos, then we may have a Latino labor force that is adequately prepared to participate in the increasingly technological and global markets. Similarly, if Americans embrace multilingualism as a desirable cultural trait, then Spanish-speaking people may more easily be integrated to a host society that values the ability to speak many languages (see Golash-Boza 2005).

The increasing Latino presence in the U.S. will affect all societal institutions. This will be seen in the educational institution, where the population of students and educators will increasingly be Latino. In the economic institution, the producers and consumers of our goods and services will increasingly be Latinos. In the political institution, voters and political candidates will increasingly be Latinos. In the health institution, health providers, caretakers, and consumers will be increasingly Latinos. In the religious institution, religious adherents and leaders will be increasingly Latinos. The growth of the Latino population in the coming decades provides opportunities and challenges for these institutions.

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Rogelio Saenz is Professor of Sociology in the Department of Sociology, College of Liberal Arts at Texas A&M University, College Station,

Texas, and Carlos Siordia is a graduate student with the Department of Sociology at Texas A&M University.

Strategies and Processes of Adaptation in Immigration
The numerous studies on migratory flows, the processes of social interaction that entail those who arrive, and the natives of the place use many theoretical models based on a great diversity of terms and almost always bipolar concepts (assimilation-- segregation, integration -- marginalization, acculturation -- cultural pluralism, and crucible of cultures -- ghettos or ethnic enclaves, etc.). Where does this plurality of terms, theoretical concepts, and marks come from and what do they mean? Is it possible to learn the theoretical models elaborated in other latitudes and historical moments to better understand and explain the present migratory phenomenon in Spain? When we speak of "integration" or "interculturalism" are we saying something different from what others call "assimilation" or "melting pot?" As a contribution to these debates, I am going to mention the main theories on immigration elaborated in the United States. These theories have served me in my own investigation about the Dominicans in New York (Bajo Santos, 1994).

Strategies and Processes of Adaptation in Immigration

Nicolás Bajo Santos

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The American Classic School of Assimilation ("Americanization")

According to M. Gordon (1978), assimilation to American culture and way of life, or "Anglo-conformity," has been the United States' predominant immigration ideology from the colonial days to the second half of the 20th century: this ideology tends to promote racist attitudes. The founding fathers showed concern about the effects massive immigration would have on American democracy and republicanism. Many Europeans who arrived, accustomed to monarchic despotism and determined to maintain their languages, customs, and principles, represented a danger to the pillars of the new nation. On the other hand, throughout the 18th century the nation's founders saw the advantages of immigration, such as: an increase in population of certain states and territories, colonization of the west, work in the mines, construction of the railroads and channels, and overall contribution to the industrial expansion. In order to these advantages, it was elemental that the immigrants adjusted to their new country.

John Quincy Adams reflected this feeling during his time as the Secretary of State in an 1818 letter he wrote in response some of Baron Von Fürstenwaerther's questions:

They (immigrants to America) come to a life of independence, but to a life of labor –and, if they cannot accommodate themselves to the character,

moral, political and physical, of this country with all its compensating balances of good and evil, the Atlantic is always open to them to return to the land of their nativity and their fathers. To one thing they must make up their minds, or they will be disappointed in every expectation of happiness as Americans. They must cast off the European skin, never to resume it. They must look forward to their posterity rather than backward to their ancestors; they must be sure that whatever their own feelings may be, those of their children will cling to the prejudices of this country (Gordon, 1978, p. 187).

Essentially, Adams was expressing the idea: "If they don't like it here, they do go back to where they came from." Anglo-conformity or Americanization forces compliance as to the moral, political, and physical character of the country.

A century later, R. Park and E. Burgess (1921, p. 735) thought that the "cycle of the racial relations" or interethnic relations happened through four stages: contacts, competition, accommodation, and assimilation. Because of industrialization, people moved from farms to cities, there they were in contact with others, forcing them to either compete or co-operate for work: this process assimilated them. The stage known as "marginality" temporarily caught some between the old and new cultural systems. However, the passage of time caused ethnic differences and rivalries to disappear allowing for steps toward assimilation. This can be understood as "an interpenetration process and fusion in which individuals and groups acquire memories, feelings, and attitudes of other individuals and groups, and with sharing their experience and history they incorporate to a common cultural life" (Park & Burgess, 1921, p. 735). This reflection of "the melting pot"—an idea which we will analyze shortly— shows the forms of interpersonal association between the different ethnic groups as more powerful and lasting than the interpersonal competition (Park, 1928, pp. 881-893).

Myrdal (1994), on the other hand, reinforced Park and Burgess' vision some decades later. Their studies on the relations between Blacks and Whites in the United States reached the conclusion that the inconsistency or cultural dissonance of the American creed, "all men are created equal," and

the tendency of racial prejudice and discrimination would not be permanent. According to this vision, racism will eventually disappear, and blacks will assimilate.

The "Melting Pot" (Crucible of Races)

Considered as a version of the Assimilationalist School and an alternative vision by others, this perspective about immigration was also present since the origins of the American nation (Lambert & Taylor, 1990, p. 26). Gordon (1978) mentioned a series of testimonies that is worth remembering to understand what melting pot means.

J. Héctor St. John Crévecoeur, writer and agronomist of French origin, asked in his book, *Letters from an American Farmer* (1782): Who is the American? He reflected thusly:

He is either an European, or the descendant of an European, hence that strange mixture blood, which you will find in no other country. I could point out to you a family whose grandfather was an Englishman, whose wife was Dutch, whose son married a French woman, and whose present four sons have now four wives of different nations. He is an American, who leaving behind him all his ancient prejudices and manners, receives new ones from the new mode of life he has embraced, the new government he obeys, and the new rank he holds. He becomes an American by being received in the broad lap of our great Alma Mater. Here individuals of all nations are melted into a new race of men, whose labours and posterity will one day cause great changes in the world (Gordon, 1978, pp. 190-191).

The Open Door Policy, which prevailed in the first three quarters of the 19th century, was a reflection of this faith that "all could be absorbed and all could contribute to the sprouting of a *national character*"(Handlin, 1959, p. 146). However, some reacted firmly in opposition to the nationalist movement against immigration. The writer and poet Ralph W. Emerson wrote in his magazine:

I hate the narrowness of the Native American Party. It is the dog in the manger. It is precisely opposite to all the dictates of love and magnanimity;

and therefore, of course, opposite to true wisdom… Man is the most composite of all creatures… Well, as in the old burning of the Temple at Corinth, by the melting and intermixture of silver and gold and other metals a new compound more precious than any, called Corinthian brass, was formed; so in this continent –asylum of all nations— the energy of Irish, Germans, Swedes, Poles, and Cossacks, and all the European tribes –of the Africans and of the Polynesians— will construct a new race, a new religion, a new state, a new literature, which will be as vigorous as the new Europe which came out of the smelting-pot of the Dark Ages, or that which earlier emerged from Pelasgic and Etruscan barbarism. La Nature aime les croisements[footnote] (Sherman, 1921, xxxiv).
Nature loves hybrids.

The idea of melting pot also penetrated the academic world on behalf of Frederick J. Turner and other historians who dared to question the dominant thesis on the Anglo-Saxon origin of the American institutions. In an address presented to the Congress of the *American Historical Association* (Chicago, 1893), titled *The Significance of the Frontier in American History*, the young Turner developed the idea that the decisiveness in the configuration of democracy and the American institutions was not in the European inheritance nor in the coastal cities of the east, but in the experiences originated in the western borders, whose challenges acted as the dissolvent of the diverse nationalities involved in the adventure (German, Scottish-Irish of the 18th century, and Scandinavians and Germans of the 19th century) and promoted the formation of a "composed nationality" for the "American town." "In the crucible of the frontier the immigrants were Americanized, liberated, and fused into a mixed race, English in neither nationality nor characteristics (Turner, 1920, pp. 22-23)." Years later, in an essay on the valley of the Mississippi, he made reference to the "wave of foreign immigration," so strong that it has created "acomposite American people whose amalgamation is destined to produce a new national stock (Turner, 1920, p. 190)."

The maintenance, extension, and popular diffusion of this vision corresponded to Israel Zangwill, English-Jewish writer who also immigrated to the United States. He was convinced that that country was the great hope for Europe's poor and oppressed. Zangwill enjoyed

enormous success with his drama, *The Melting Pot*, published in 1908. The protagonist is a young Russian-Jewish musician and immigrant whose dream is to compose a great "American" symphony that expressed his deepest feelings about the United States as a crucible chosen by God so that all the divisions and ethnic conflicts of humanity disappear, while "being fused" in a single group; symbol of the universal brotherhood. The protagonist falls in love with a young beautiful Gentile and the play ends with the execution of the symphony, leaving a glimpse of the marriage commitment between David Quixano and his fiancée, after a few unexpected events and the habitual opposition of both families. In one of the most rhetorical moments, David expresses his feelings: "America is God's crucible, the great Melting Pot where all the races of Europe are melting and re-forming! ...Germans and Frenchmen, Irishmen and Englishmen, Jews and Russians –into the crucible with you all! God is making the American" Zangwill, 1909). This was Zangwill's dream.

Several decades later, an investigation on the evolution of marriages between 1870 and 1940 in New Haven, Connecticut showed that, on one hand, the Anglo-Americans, Germans, and Scandinavians tended to intermarry (the Protestant block). The same happened, on the other hand, between the Irish, Italian, and Polish (the Catholic block), while Jews tended to only marry Jews. Was it necessary to speak of a single or a triple melting pot? This question came upon Ruby Jo Reeves Kennedy (1944, pp.331-339), the author of this investigation, upon seeing this tendency toward "religious endogamy" and, although she spoke of the "triple melting-pot" as a new theory of assimilation, it in fact aimed toward the pluralist conception of the society that others developed.

Cultural Pluralism or Multiculturalism

A few years after the success of *Melting Pot*, another author of Jewish descent, the Harvard philosopher, Horace Kallen, formulated serious reserves to the theory of "Americanization" (or "Anglo-conformity") as expressed in *Melting Pot*. Kallen stated his concerns in the newspaper, *The Nation*, with a two-part article titled, "Democracy versus the Melting-Pot" (February 18and 25, 1915; see Gordon, 1978: 199). The diverse ethnic groups of immigrants tend to settle down in a certain area or region, Kallen

states, to preserve their language, religion, and customs; really, their original culture. On the other hand, they learn English for general communication, and participate in the economic and political life of the country. Therefore, America cannot be conceived as a melting pot, but as a "cooperation of diverse cultures" or a "federation of national cultures" within the framework of a political and administrative entity. This vision, denominated as "cultural pluralism,[footnote]" makes no attempt to defy historical American political principles (as supposed by those in favor of Americanization), but rather to protect the immigrants' democratic ideals, serving as an antidote against cultural attacks by those who pretended racial superiority, such as Ku Klux Klan.
See prologue of *Culture and Democracy in the United States,* New York, Boni and Liverright, 1924.

For those in favor of cultural pluralism, assimilation is not something inevitable, as supposed by Park and Burgess, nor are there reasons to suppose that ethnic groups want to assimilate. Jews, for example, seem to bet on continuing being Jewish simultaneously as they triumph and are "structurally" assimilated at the highest professional levels. Black Americans, since the times of slavery, have not assimilated as had been predicted. It will be necessary to conceive the American nation as a "cultural mosaic," where a "common culture" is being developed into a new denominated ethnicity, very different from the original culture of the host society and of the cultural legacies of immigrants (Greeley, 1974; Yancey, Ericksen, & Juliani, 1976, pp. 391-403).

Gordon (1978) tried to establish some relation between the two currents of thought, while distinguishing several stages, dimensions, and degrees in the assimilation process, as it is reflected in this table:

Table 1. The Assimilation Variables

Sub-process or condition	Type or stage of assimilation	Special term
Change of cultural patterns to those of host society	Cultural or behavioral assimilation	Acculturation
Large-scale entrance into cliques, clubs and institutions of host society, on primary group level	Structural assimilation	None
Large-scale intermarriage	Marital assimilation	Amalgamation
Development of sense of peoplehood based exclusively on host society	Identificational assimilation	None
Absence of prejudice	Attitude receptional assimilation	None
Absence of discrimination	Behavioral receptional assimilation	None
Absence of value and power conflict	Civic assimilation	None

Gordon, M. (19780. Human Nature, Class and Ethnicity, New York, Oxford University Press, 1978, pg. 169.

In this way Gordon (1978) tried to define the real situation of Blacks, Jews, Catholics (excluding Blacks and Hispanic-Catholics), and Puerto Ricans by considering these seven variables and their sub-processes, clarifying the

type and degree of assimilation relative to each. Based upon this information, he concludes that a plurality of types and degrees of assimilation exist. The United States, therefore, reflects an "incomplete assimilation" of the original nuclear culture and, altogether, more acculturation than "structural assimilation". By using the term "structural assimilation," Gordon means "the entrance of the immigrants and their descendants into the social cliques, organizations, institutional activities, and general civic life of the receiving society" (p. 203). Considered by some to be an assimilationalist theoretician; and by others as an enforcer of pluralism, Gordon has without a doubt committed himself to the debate about the interethnic or multicultural relations.

Extensions, Modifications, and Critics of Classic Theories

At the beginning of the 1960s, Nathan Glazer and Daniel Moynihan (1963) reformulated the central question: Have the ethnic minorities, in fact, been assimilated? Their study concluded that for several generations most ethnic groups have maintained their identity to an unexpected degree. Twenty years later, they received affirmation of their position, since no basic changes occurred between 1963 and 1983 regarding the immigrants' tendency to maintain their ethnic identities in the United States (Perlez, 1983). These two authors, along with the already mentioned A. Greeley and Michael Novak (1971), are considered responsible for the *ethnic revival* of the 1960s and 1970s. However, Herbert H. Gans (1982) questioned the reality of this supposed *revival*.[footnote] What happened, in his opinion, was that ethnic groups were becoming more visible as a result of their ascending mobility or as a result of becoming a marginalized social "subclass" of the main current. In both cases, ethnic groups tended to adopt a "symbolic ethnicity," a type of nostalgic regeneration of the love and pride for their country of origin and its traditions; something they experience sentimentally but do not include in their daily lives. For that reason, he thought the tendency of assimilation was still powerful and dominant, and that only those aspects of the ethnicity that were transformable into symbols and easily practicable (to eat at an ethnic restaurant, to feel proud for the success of an artist or politician of the same ethnic origin, and things of that sort) would persist.

See also: "Symbolic ethnicity: The future of ethnic groups and cultures in America", *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 2 (1979) 1-20.

On the other hand, Richard White, working with the census data of 1980, believed to find clear signs of a progressive assimilation based on the increasing number of interethnic marriages: Americans of European origin who married outside their respective ethnic groups (Alba, 1981, pp. 86-97). It is necessary to warn, nevertheless, that such marriages usually take place within limits marked by social class and skin color. During the 80s, G. Collins (1985) provided evidence that Americans of Italian, Portuguese, European, and Jewish decent tend to marry amongst themselves, as long as they belong to a similar class and social status; whereas Blacks, Whites, and most of the Asian groups marry mainly within their own ethnic group and of the same social class. On the other hand, interethnic marriages do not imply the eradication of one or both ethnic legacies, as it has been shown in diverse studies (Aellen & Lambert, 1969, pp. 69-86).

Stefen Steinberg (1989) criticized assimilationist, as well as cultural pluralist perspectives. He opines that the relationships between the ethnic and the historical, socio-economic and political factors must be ignored, as if culture were independent of the other spheres of life. Trying to surpass this "cultural" approach, or rather, "culturalist," Steinberg calls attention to the discrimination that ethnic minorities have suffered and will suffer, mainly Blacks, on behalf of the dominant society. He explained the persistence of their ethnic identity: "ethnic pluralism in America has its origin in the conquest, slavery, and the exploitation of foreign manual labor" (1989, p.5). If these minorities had enjoyed the same access to opportunities of the American way of life that dominant groups have, they would have integrated into society's main current and their cultural differences would lack importance.

"New" Immigrants, New Theoretical Approaches

Initially, the preceding theories (assimilation, melting pot, and cultural pluralism) used the migratory flows of Europeans as the main frame of reference. After World War II, however, immigrants were no longer necessarily longer white Europeans. Now, they are former citizens of third-

world countries and, very specifically, of the Greater American continent. They represent another type of people: manual workers arrive mixed with professionals of diverse offices and races; they are industrialists, refugees, or political exiles. This greater diversity of origins and situations, next to all the differences derived from the historical moment, demands new conceptual and theoretical markers in order to analyze their incorporation into American society.[footnote]

See, among others: FONER, N. (ed.): *New Immigrants in New York*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1987. LEVINE, B. B. (ed.): *The Caribbean Exodus*, New York, Praeger, 1987. PESSAR, P. (ed.): *When Borders don't divide: Labor Migration and Refugee Movements in the Americas*, Staten Island (NY), Center for Migration Studies, 1988. PORTES, A. & RUMBAUT, R. G*.: Immigrant America: A Portrait*, Berkeley (CA), University of California Press, 1990.

In those new theorizations, the *interethnic competition* and the processes of development of the *ethnic identity*[footnote] occupy an outstanding place. New immigrants, highly motivated and set out to succeed in America, represent a certain threat for solidly established groups, in the work area as much as in schools. They are competitors to be taken seriously. On the other hand, they maintain their ethnic identity and develop strong bonds and networks of solidarity.

See: BANTON, M. *Racial and ethnic Competition*, New York, Cambridge University Press., 1983 LAMBERT, W. E. & TAYLOR, D. M., *Coping with Cultural and Racial Diversity in Urban America*, New York, Praeger, 1990.

A new historical context creates the necessity to study the process of ethnic identification and assimilation to the receiving society. It affirms, on one hand, the dynamic, fluid, and adaptable character of ethnic identity; this can change or even undergo a process of conversion for practical reasons. [footnote] On the other hand, it refuses to consider ethnic conscience as a by-product of discrimination and/or economic and social marginalization in such a way that it would tend to disappear or, at least, to lose relevance when immigrants assimilate themselves. What seems to happen with new immigrants is the opposite: as they "begin to leave outside their internal neighborhoods, districts, or enclaves and to compete directly with other groups, the conscience of their racial and cultural differences awakes"

(Portes, 1984, p. 395). So, the ethnic conscience is reactivated as immigrants succeed in the struggle to achieve social standing.
See: NAGEL, J. & OLZAK, S., "Ethnic mobilization in new and old States: An extension of the competition model", *Social Problems* 30 (1982) 127-143. PORTES, A., "The rise of ethnicity: Determinants of ethnic perceptions among Cuban exiles in Miami", *American Sociological Review* 49 (1984) 383-397.

This hypothesis depends upon the support of some empirical studies; the case of the Cubans, as analyzed by Portes, illustrates the example. He suggests that conscious displays of ethnicity are more characteristic of those that have left "ethnic neighborhoods." By conscientiously marking their ethnicity, they nullify the classic dilemma of "ethnic assimilation." This observation was at the new center of attention of investigations, historical and sociological, on immigration in the last decades.[footnote] The conclusions I reached in my investigation on the Dominicans in New York, centered on a series of families' life stories, which were all similar and affirmative of Portes' hypothesis (Bajo Santos, 2000, pp. 833-856).
See: MORAWSKA, E., "The Sociology and Historiography of Immigration", en YANS-McLAUGHLYN, V. (ed), *Immigration reconsidered. History, Sociology and Politics*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1990 pp. 187-238.

Another illustrative case is the one of a Sikh community established in a rural area in California, studied by Margaret A. Gibson (1988). Sikhs developed a strategy of "accommodation and acculturation without assimilation." They want to preserve their identity and culture. They teach their children to love their roots, distinctive symbols, memorable events, historical personages, and songs, but at the same time they encourage them to follow schools' official norms and to adopt the "good ways" of the "Americans."

Barbara Ballis Lal (1986, pp. 280-298), distinguishes characteristics of the new approach for racial and ethnic relations by the:

1. Preference to speak of "transformations of traditional cultures" instead of integration or assimilation.

2. Suggestion to take race and ethnic groups as variables and not as constant characteristics from the life of the group; and to consider that the racial and ethnic borders are in a constant process of negotiation and renegotiation.
3. Accentuation of meaning; the subjective and symbolic aspects of racial and ethnic relations.
4. Worry about the historical events like migration and the human experiences that are involved (1986, p. 297).

There are plenty of these characteristics in Hispanic or Latino literature. The literature of Hispanics in the U.S. has been on the increase throughout the 1980s. Denominated by some as the "decade of the Hispanics," it frameworks a new and remarkable impulse to celebrate the 5th Centennial of the Discovery of America.[footnote] This literature, on the other hand, represents the continuity and extension of a series of investigations previously made about Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, and Dominicans. A good example of these pioneering studies was made by Tomás Calvo Buezas (1981) on the Chicano movement in California; by Juan Strong Luis Adrados (1975) on the Puerto Rican families in New York; and by the already mentioned A. Portes (1984) on Cubans and Glenn Hendricks (1974) on the Dominicans.

CORTINA, R. y MONCADA, A. (eds.), *Hispanos en los Estados Unidos*, Madrid, Ediciones de Cultura Hispánica, ICI/V Centenario, 1988. BUXÓ REY, M. J. y CALVO BUEZAS, T. (eds.), *Culturas hispanas en los Estados Unidos de América*, Madrid, Ediciones de Cultura Hispánica, ICI/V Centenario, 1988. MOORE, J. & PACHON, H., *Hispanics in the United States*, Englewood Cliff (NJ), Prentice-Hall, 1985. PORTES, A. & BACH, R., *Latin Journey. Cuban and Mexican Immigrants in the United States*, Berkely (CA), University of California Press, 1985. PADILLA, F., *Latino ethnic Consciousness. The Case of Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans in Chicago*, Notre Dame (IND), University of Notre Dame Press, 1985. GARCÍA, F. Ch. (ed.), *Latinos and the Political System*, Notre Dame (IND), University of Notre Dame Press, 1988. MONCADA, A., *La americanización de los hispanos*, Barcelona, Plaza y Janés, 1986. ID., *Norteamérica con acento hispano*, Madrid, Ediciones de Cultura Hispánica, ICI/V Centenario, 1988.

Recovering the Concept of "Adaptation"

When it comes to defining what happens in a migratory process (to name it and to establish theoretical categories to put in order, classify, and interrelate the different aspects and elements from that process), terms, concepts, and categories are used with different types of connotations and biases. Sometimes these biases are reflections of the receiving society or another of the immigrant groups in a unilateral, exclusive way. Other times, the bias and confusion can come from an investigator's indiscriminate mixture of analytical approaches while rigorously trying to understand what actually happens to the immigrant's social, political, and religious ideologies during migratory processes versus what where the immigrant's original intentions in these three areas. The classic sociological approach to understanding migratory processes, based on reality, would be to try to explain their causes then to risk making anticipatory projections for them. The individually or collectively idealistic approach, based on intentionality, tries to influence the processes by projecting determined ideals, and assigning determined goals as an expression of a social ethic, or a certain social, political, humanitarian, or other type of intervention. This difference between real and ideal migratory processes can cause confusion for the receiving society or in the collective immigrant.

Milton M. Gordon had warned in the 1960s, with regard to "conceptual ideologies or models" about the formation of the "American town," that such models had served at different moments, sometimes with several of them being employed at the same time. These attempted to serve as explanations of what happened, or descriptive models. Goal models meant to explain what has to happen or what it was desired to happen (Gordon, 1978, p. 181).

Carlos Giménez Romero has demanded the necessity to distinguish, conceptually and linguistically, the "factual" level (as in: multiculturality = cultural diversity, linguistic, religious, etc., or interculturality = interethnic relations, interlinguistics, interreligious, etc.) and the "normative" level; or of the sociopolitical and ethical proposals (as in: cultural pluralism, multiculturalism, interculturalism, etc.). Based on this distinction, it

establishes an interesting typology of "sociopolitical models for cultural diversity" (Gimenez Romero, 2003, pp.9-26).

Another interesting contribution is that of the investigation group Algarabia (University of Almeria) that has elaborated a theoretical model of acculturation, based on the concept of psychological acculturation of J. W. Berry (1984, pp. 353-370), which considers Gordon's model as one-dimensional and linear. This model proposes to independently consider and measure the immigrants' attitudes toward their own identity and cultural heritage, at least to what extent they wish to preserve it. In contrast this model examines their attitudes toward the welcoming culture, considering to what extent they wish to adopt itas their own. Conjugating the answers to these two dimensions (to preserve/to adopt), it establishes a picture of four acculturation strategies: assimilation, integration, segregation, or marginalization. The Algarabia group introduces some modifications by emphasizing the dialectic character of the acculturation strategies; those of the collective immigrant cannot be isolated from those of the native population. The necessity to establish differences according to the ethnic-cultural origin of the immigrants, the convenience of differentiating the ideal versus the real level, as well as the hypothesis that individuals and groups do not adopt a particular strategy of acculturation, rather, many are based on different factors and socio-cultural scopes; e.g. work relations, family relations, religious beliefs, and customs, is a proposal of an "extended model of relative acculturation" (MAAR).[footnote]
See SÁNCHEZ MIRANDA, J.: "Estrategias de adaptación en una sociedad plural", en *Corintios XIII*. Nºs 103-104 (2002) 159-226.

This model, as is indicated in the title of Sanchez Miranda's (2002, pp. 159-226) article, brings us to the concept of "adaptation," precisely the one Juan Luis Recio and myself used for our respective investigations, defining it as:

A functional ability to perform new and redefined universal and particularistic roles in various environments of the receiving society in such a way that is productive of a certain level of individual and family satisfaction which often results in a decision to stay (Adrados, 1975, p. 376).

The main terms and concepts can be grouped into two blocks: on one side, adaptation, fit, accommodation, or arrangement; and on the another side, integration, assimilation, orabsorption. The first terms are more appropriate to express the perspective and the point of view of the immigrants and their greater or lesser ability to handle themselves and to develop in the receiving society. The second terms, however, pay individual attention to the receiving society and its structural exigencies to participate in its institutions and primary groups.

Conclusion

It does not seem that we have reached clarity necessary to define what happens in a migratory process, to name and classify the diverse phenomena nor the constituting interrelated sets of concepts and categories that guide investigation. But theory and the methodology have made advances and are now more adapted to investigate the migratory processes. In this way we can continue considering the studies and theoretical contributions of the past simultaneously as we look for new, more suitable instruments to understand and explain what is happening in Spain today, as a result of its new demographic, economic, social, and cultural configuration.

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Nicolás Bajo Santos is a professor at Instituto Social " León XIII" at the University of Salamanca, Madrid, Spain.

The Socio-economic Development of Hispanics in the United States: In Search of a Theory
Hispanics in the United States of America have experienced economic prosperity in recent years and as a result they are forming a new middle class (Chavez, 1991).

The Socio-economic Development of Hispanics in the United States: In Search of a Theory

Héctor Luis Díaz

Hispanics in the United States of America have experienced economic prosperity in recent years and as a result they are forming a new middle class (Chavez, 1991). According to the U.S. Census (http://www.census.gov/hhes/www/income/histinc/p01h.html) the per capita income of Hispanics increased from $8,830 in 1993 to $13,492 in 2003, a 35% increase. The median income of Hispanics increased from $11,018 in 1993 to $17,578 in 2003, a 37% increase. Furthermore, their mean income increased from $15,416 in 1993 to $23,787 in 1993, also a 35% increase. The rates of increase would be 18%, 21% and 19% respectively, if we convert 1993 dollars to 2003 dollars. According to the same source, the poverty rate for Hispanics in general declined from 27.1% in 1997 to 22.5% in 2003. Many social scientists as well as policy makers often focus on the high poverty rates of Hispanics in the United States. It

should be noted, however, that if 22.5% of Hispanics are poor, 77.5% of them are not. Unfortunately, the overall economic gains of Hispanics in the United States are overshadowed by the fact that as a group, they are still over represented among the poor (Morales & Bonilla, 1993). The poverty rate of Hispanics in 2003 was 22.5% while the rate for Whites was 8.5% and the rate for the population at large was 12.5% (U.S. Census Bureau, 2004).

Most Hispanics in the United States are progressing in spite of the fact that as a group they are not assimilated. Their experiences seem to contradict the notion that economic progress in a host country requires high levels of acculturation and / or assimilation (Ambert, 1998, p. 142; Gordon, 1964). Gordon (1964) and Marger's (2000) theory of assimilation, suggest a linear progression from the person's Hispanic culture of origin to the dominant White Anglo-Saxon Protestant culture of the United States. Such theory is in harmony with the Anglo-conformity theory of assimilation, which proposes that immigrants in the United States must leave their original cultural heritage behind and move towards the adoption of Anglo ways in order to join the mainstream of American society. The three-generation theory of assimilation expands on the propositions of the two other theories by suggesting that it usually takes three generations for immigrant groups to complete the process of assimilation. The experience of most Hispanics in the United States seems inconsistent with the propositions of these three complementary theories. Hispanics, who have been in this country for centuries, have not completed as a group the stages of the assimilation process put forth by Gordon, have refused to fully conform to Anglo norms, and have obviously not completed the assimilation process in three generations (McLemore, 1991, p. 5, 289; Marger, 2000, p. 318). These theories seem to have limited applicability for Hispanic immigrant groups in the United States and for this reason fail to adequately describe and explain their reality or predict their varying levels of progress and well-being.

I conducted a review of the current literature related to Hispanics in the United States with the objective of identifying factors associated to their socio-economic development. Furthermore, consistent with the deductive approach to knowledge building, he proposes a theory to be tested in future

research. The identified factors were classified as based on the individual or group or as contextual.

Major Hispanic Groups in the United States

Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and Cubans represent the three largest Hispanic groups in the United States. Nevertheless, other Hispanic groups such as the Dominican and the Salvadoran continue to grow at a very fast rate. In 1997, the four Latin-American countries with most immigrants in the United States were: Mexico, Cuba, Dominican Republic and El Salvador (www.census.gov/Press-Release/www/1999/cb99-195.html). Puerto Rico is not listed among these countries due to the fact that it is not a country but a territory or colony of the United States.

The Hispanic community is very diverse in terms of their cultures of origin and the circumstances that brought them to the United States. Policy-makers need knowledge about those cultures of origin and circumstances in order to better understand the unique challenges and socio-economic differences among these ethnic groups.

Most of the Cubans who came to the United States in the early 1960's following Fidel Castro's rise to power were White, affluent and highly educated. They enjoyed, in Cuba, disproportionate access to power and wealth, and controlled the decision-making processes within the country's financial, political and educational institutions (Acosta-Belén, 1988, p. 96; Olson & Olson, 1995, pp. 54-55). This first group of immigrants was not able to bring financial capital to the United States; however, they were able to bring their knowledge, education, and a tradition of being part of the dominant group in society (human capital). This has made it possible for them to recreate their lifestyle in the United States and to succeed financially, once more. The social and economic progress of the Cuban community in the United States was also influenced by the "cold war" that existed for decades between the United States and the communist world. Many people in the U.S. viewed the fact that many Cubans preferred to live in the U.S. rather than in their home country, as a moral victory over Fidel Castro and communism (Olson & Olson, 1995, p. 59, 64). This helps explain why, to this day, all Cubans arriving at U.S. shores are provided

with political asylum and with assistance not available to other Hispanics or immigrant groups. The previously mentioned circumstances help explain why Cubans fare better than other Hispanic groups in relation to most social and economic indicators. For instance, 25% of Cuban adults possess an education of a bachelor's degree or more while only 7% of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans possess such levels of education. At the same time, 80% of Cuban families are headed by a married couple as compared to 68% for Hispanic families in general (www.census.gov/Press-Release/www/2000/cb00-38.html).

On the other hand, the migration of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans to the United States has historically been motivated by financial reasons (Sánchez-Ayéndez, 1988, p. 175; Becerra, 1988, pp. 143-4). The 2000 U.S. Census reported that in 1998 the poverty rate for Mexicans and Puerto Ricans was 31% compared to 14% for Cubans (www.census.gov/Press-Release/www/1999/cb99-188.html). The initial poverty and low levels of education of many Mexicans and Puerto Ricans, the discrimination they experience as a result of being racially mixed, and the lack of governmental policies and programs intended to assist them, hinder the potential for success in the United States.

The experience of Dominicans in the U.S. is very similar to the experience of Puerto Ricans. Dominicans, however, do not come to the U.S. from a territory with a long history of colonialism like Puerto Rico. Their migration to the United States is motivated by the high poverty rate and marginalization prevalent in their country. Once in the United States, many of them must wrestle with problems associated with their undocumented status (Grasmuck & Pessar, 1991, p. 207).

Finally, the experience of Salvadorans and other undocumented immigrants from Central America is very similar to the experience of poor undocumented Mexicans. Immigrants from Nicaragua and other Central American countries who fled their countries of origin because of war have been able to obtain political asylum in the United States. In contrast to Cubans, however, their asylum did not bring with it permanent residence or citizenship in the United States. A legal arrangement implemented in the early 1980's that allowed Nicaraguans to live and work in the United States

was phased out in 1997. As a result, the Nicaraguan community in the U.S. had to go to court to stop their deportation (www.cnn.com/US/9706/24/nicaragua).

Individual and / or Group Characteristics as Factors

According to McLemore (1991, p. 6), the extent to which members of an immigrant group are accepted as equals by the dominant group in a host society will depend on: how long the group has been in the country, the racial and cultural characteristics of the group, the circumstances under which the group came to this country, the extent to which the incoming group wishes to be assimilated, and the extent to which the dominant group wishes to accept members of the incoming group as equals. Out of the previous list, length of residence in the country and racial characteristics based factors. The role of acculturation and human capital will also be included in our discussion of individual characteristics.

Time of Arrival

Research studies have identified length of residence in the host country as one of the main predictors of acculturation (McLemore, 1991; Díaz, 1995; Pérez & Padilla, 2000). Acculturation, in turn, has been described as the first prerequisite for the eventual assimilation of any group or individual (Gordon, 1964; Marger, 2000). For this reason it is logical to predict that, unless special obstacles are encountered, the longer Hispanics have lived in the United States the more likely their assimilation will be. Assimilation usually implies that the incoming individual or group will have greater access to privileges and opportunities existing in the host country.

Race and Phenotypes

Racial similarity between the incoming and the dominant groups is also a key factor that may facilitate or prevent the socio-economic progress of Hispanics. Montalvo (1991) discussed the role that skin color and physiognomic features play in the acculturation, assimilation and overall experience of Hispanics in the United States. Reportedly, Hispanics in this country are selectively assimilated because many are considered to be

Black by the White majority. Furthermore, Hispanics who possess light skin and European features are more likely to attain higher social status. Most importantly, Montalvo found that low social status, dark skin color and Indian or African physical features are associated with ethno-racial stress and psychosocial dysfunction.

The race-related experiences of Puerto Ricans in the United States may be representative of the experiences of other equally racially diverse immigrant Hispanic groups. Epidemiological studies have consistently revealed higher rates of mental illness for Puerto Ricans than for other ethnic groups (Mizio, 1979). In the United States, Puerto Ricans are often forced to define themselves as Black or White. This is perceived to be a threat to their "Puerto Rican" ethnic identification and to the cohesiveness of families in which all members are not of the same color. Being a Black Puerto Rican in the United States seems to be associated with higher levels of emotional distress as suggested by the higher rates of admission to psychiatric hospitals of this Puerto Rican subgroup. According to Rives Tobar (1980) when Puerto Ricans move to the United States, often dark-skinned family members are looked down upon by society while other family members are not. Reportedly, this differential treatment helps explain why the majority of Puerto Rican drug addicts in New York are dark-skinned members of White families (Rives Tobar, 1980).

According to Rodriguez (1980), racially mixed individuals who could be considered White in Latin America are considered Black in the United States. Reportedly, in Puerto Rico cultural identification is more important than racial identification while in the United States it is the other around. Furthermore, the way Puerto Ricans in the United States view themselves racially is often inconsistent with the way the general population perceives them. A survey she conducted in New York City revealed that 37% of a sample of Puerto Ricans considered themselves White while only 29% of them were considered White by the interviewer; 13% of the sample classified itself as Black while only 5% were classified as Black by the interviewer; 35% percent labeled themselves as brown as compared to 32% who were labeled as such by the interviewer. Finally, 13% classified themselves as beige as compared to 34% considered possibly White by the

interviewer. Two percent of the respondents did not know how to classify themselves (Rodríguez, 1980).

Historically, Cubans have been predominantly White or Black with a smaller proportion of them being racially mixed (Szapocznik & Hernández, 1988, p. 162). White Cubans were over-represented among the upper classes in Cuba while Black Cubans were over-represented among the Cuban poor (Olson & Olson, 1995, p. 50). This helps us understand why the majority of Cuban Americans are White. Eighty-two percent (82%) of the Cuban immigrants in 1960 were White while only 2% were Black and approximately 15% were racially mixed (Olson & Olson, 1995, p. 61). This fact has contributed to the socio-economic development of Cubans in the United States, given the country's tradition of White privilege.

Cultural Similarity

The White Anglo-Saxon Protestant culture is the dominant culture in the United States. This partially explains why immigrant groups sharing similar ethnic backgrounds have been accepted more readily into the mainstream of American society (Zastrow, 1992, p. 235). The typical White Anglo-American knows very little about cultural differences among Latin American countries or immigrant Hispanic groups. Lack of knowledge, as well as convenience, motivate them to lump all Hispanic immigrant groups into one category. Cultural differences among Hispanic groups may not be significant predictors of economic success in the United States. The average American does not know such differences and traditionally Anglos have discriminated against Hispanic immigrant groups based on race more than based on culture (McLemore, 1991, p. 31). Cultural differences, however, help explain why Anglo-Americans seem more accepting of Hispanics than of non-Western or non-Christian immigrant groups (Schaefer, 1993).

Acculturation and Assimilation

Considerable confusion is associated with the concepts of acculturation and assimilation. These two concepts are often used interchangeably, especially outside of academic circles. For the purposes of our discussion, however, the definitions of acculturation and assimilation shared by Gordon (1964), Marger, (2000) and Yinger (1981) will be utilized. As a classic on the

subject of assimilation, Gordon's work has served as reference for the scholarly work of numerous social and behavioral scientists.

Acculturation has been defined as the process through which the values and behaviors associated with a person's culture of origin are gradually replaced with the values and behaviors associated with a new culture (Gordon, 1964). According to previously mentioned authors, assimilation means full inclusion of an immigrant group into the mainstream of a host society. Assimilation means accepting the members of the incoming group as equals. Members of assimilated groups have lost their original cultural identity and are now considered simply "Americans". Hyphenated labels such as Mexican-American, Latino, Latin-American, Hispanic or Hispanic-American are not used to refer to assimilated groups since, once assimilated, they become indistinguishable from the dominant group. An implication of being part of an assimilated group is that its members can enjoy equal access to all the rights, privileges and resources the host country has to offer. Assimilation implies giving up their previous cultural heritage and identification in exchange for equal access to power, privileges and resources. This helps explain why some immigrants desire assimilation while others do not. The dominant group in any society must choose to assimilate or include the incoming group into its mainstream in order for it to happen. The desire of an incoming group to become assimilated alone will not produce the desired outcome (McLemore, 1991, p. 8). Huntington's (2004) arguments strongly suggest that the White dominant group in the United States has not decided to accept Hispanics as equals partly because they feel threatened by the growing presence and influence of the Hispanic community in the country.

Human Capital

Adjibolosoo (1993, p. 142) suggests that the human factor is the combination of "personality characteristics and other dimensions of human performance" which enable individuals to make valuable contributions to society. He views level of education, the possession of marketable skills, and people's value systems, including their work ethic, as characteristics that determine the extent to which they can make valuable contributions to society.

Human capital theory posits that human capital comprises knowledge and skills individuals may have that make them economically productive (Schultz, 1961; Becker, 1964). The theory proposes that the more education and skills people have, the higher their societal rewards will be. It also asserts that investments in education represent the main strategy for human capital accumulation (Schultz, 1961; Becker, 1964). Many social scientists agree with the previous proposition; however, they emphasize that human capital is only increased by education that enhances the financial productivity of individuals (Little, 2003).

Social and behavioral scientists have attempted to operationally define the concept of human capital. Smith (1991), Schultz (1961), and Baum & Lake (2003), for instance, identify education as a key indicator of human capital. Haveman, Bershadker & Schwabish (2003) in turn, have identified the earnings capacity associated with education as a key indicator. The low levels of education of many Hispanics in the United States along with the resulting lower earnings potential strongly suggest that they collectively possess low levels of human capital.

Voluntary vs. Involuntary Arrival into the United States

According to McLemore (1991), and other authors, members of Hispanic groups in the United States who have been conquered, colonized or enslaved are more likely to resist acculturation and to reject the idea of assimilation. On the other hand, Hispanics choosing to come to the United States for other personal or professional reasons will be more likely to embrace the new culture. The unwillingness of many Hispanics to become acculturated or assimilated will not necessarily prevent their socio-economic progress; however, it may make it more difficult.

Most Mexicans, for example, reject the idea of assimilation because they have been defeated by the United States in several battles and many have been exploited by American employers, discriminated against or simply deported (Marger, 2000, p. 283). The animosity of many Mexican-Americans towards the United States and its dominant culture also stems out of the fact that political, economic and cultural tensions have existed between the two countries since their very inception (Becerra, 1988, p. 142). Some of these tensions have resulted from the fact that Mexico lost

approximately 50% of its former territory to its neighbor to the north (Marger, 2000, p. 286).

Most Puerto Ricans also reject the idea of assimilation. Initially, they did not come to the United States. Instead, the United States came to Puerto Rico following their victory over Spain in the Spanish-American War. Consequently, Puerto Ricans represent the only Hispanic group coming from a territory that has been a colony for more than 500 years. Puerto Rico was a colony of Spain for 405 years and it has been a territory or colony of the United States for over a century (Wagenheim, 1970). Because of their colonial status, they lack the capacity to fully govern themselves while in Puerto Rico. They do not have any input into the formulation of the federal laws that govern them and they are not allowed to vote in presidential elections even though they are citizens of the United States. Reportedly, the Puerto Rican community trails all other Hispanic groups in the U.S. in almost all indicators of progress and well being, and it scores lower than African-Americans on some indicators (Chavez, 1991). An indicator of the lack of assimilation of Puerto Ricans is that every year they conduct a parade in every major city where they live. The primary purpose of these parades is to celebrate Puerto Rican culture and heritage and announce the group's cultural distinctiveness (Lipton, 2000).

The experience of Cuban-Americans is significantly different from those of Mexican-Americans and Puerto Ricans since most Cuban immigrants chose to come to this country. Following Fidel Castro's rise to power in Cuba, massive migration of Cubans to the United States took place. Many Cubans however, chose to migrate to Spain, Venezuela or other countries. This first major wave of Cuban migration to the United States included mostly members of Cuba's higher socio-economic classes, business people, the highly educated and most of those who believed that the Communist regime would not be beneficial for them (Marger, 2000, p. 300). Their rejection of Marxism helps explain why members of the Cuban-American community have embraced the American culture and lifestyle more than other Hispanics. The higher levels of education and income of Cubans in the United States are indicative of their higher level of socio-economic development. Nevertheless, the Cuban community has not been assimilated (Marger, 2000, pp. 297-9). The culture of Cuban-Americans is very

distinctive and they celebrate their cultural heritage. Such celebration includes major special events such as "Festival de la Calle Ocho" and occasionally the "Serie del Caribe", an international Latin American baseball tournament comparable to the Baseball World Series in the United States (Myers, 1990; Hernández, 2000).

Desire of Hispanics to Become Assimilated

The majority of Hispanics in the United States wish to succeed economically and to have equal access to the rights, privileges and resources this country have to offer. Nevertheless, most Hispanics are unwilling to give up their traditions, their uniqueness and their cultural identifications in order to become indistinguishable from White Anglo-Saxon, Protestant Americans (Zastrow, 199, p. 235). The assimilation of Hispanics in the U.S. occurs very selectively at the individual and family level; however, no Hispanic ethnic group has been fully assimilated.

Desire of Dominant Group to Assimilate Hispanics

Current literature suggests that White Anglo-Saxon Protestant Americans are more willing to assimilate Hispanics who are White Caucasian, who share similar cultural backgrounds, and who accept Anglo dominance in society (Marger, 2000, p. 150-1). The lack of assimilation of Hispanic ethnic groups in the United States can be explained by the fact that a majority of Hispanic Americans are not White Caucasian and have very distinct cultures and traditions which they are unwilling to give up. One of the cultural characteristics of most Hispanics in the U.S. is their Roman-Catholic religion, which drastically differs from the dominant protestant religions in the U. S. This may become an obstacle to the assimilation of many Hispanics since there is a history of discrimination against Catholic immigrant groups in the United States (McLemore, 1991). The experiences of earlier immigrant groups such as the Irish, the Italians and the Polish clearly demonstrate this (Zastrow, 1992, p. 205).

Poverty Rates

The high poverty rate among Hispanics makes their assimilation more difficult (Becerra, 1988, pp. 152,182). This fact adds socio-economic class

differences to the complexity of ethnic relations in this country. Anglo-Americans often attribute to culture, differences in behaviors that should be attributed to class differences.

Size of the Hispanic-American Community

The willingness of White Anglo-Americans to assimilate Hispanics is also greatly affected by the size and growing numbers of Hispanics in this country. According to the United States Census, by 2003 more than 40 million Hispanics lived in the U.S. (http://www.census.gov). Hispanics were expected to outnumber African-Americans by the year 2010; however, estimates suggest that this may have already happened (Oppenheimer, 2001). As previously stated, the dominant White group perceives Hispanics in the country as a threat because of their large and growing numbers. The fact that Hispanics are constantly demanding a greater share of power, opportunities and resources also contributes to the fears of the dominant group and to their unwillingness to assimilate Hispanics.

Lack of Unity

Members of the Hispanic community in the United States have not been able to accomplish more in the political, economic and social arenas primarily due to their lack of unity. Hispanics in the U.S. are very fragmented in terms of their issues of primary concern, their political orientations and agendas, and the diversity of their cultural backgrounds.

Mexican and other Central-American immigrants are primarily concerned about their immigration status and related issues, Puerto Ricans are primarily concerned about the social injustices that result from their colonial relationship with the United States, and Cubans are primarily concerned with how to recover the country they lost to Communism. While most Hispanics in the U.S. are Democrat, most Cubans are Republican. While traditionally Hispanics have been Catholic, a growing number of Hispanics in the U.S. are joining various Protestant denominations. Finally, a strong sense of ethnocentrism seems to characterize all Hispanic groups in the U.S. Each individual group seems to believe in the superiority of their culture of origin.

Politicians and policy-makers often force Hispanic groups to compete with each other for the acquisition of available resources. This has been demonstrated by the experiences of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans in Chicago and the experiences of Puerto Ricans and Dominicans in New York. In these cities, Hispanics groups have had to compete for city funding, being elected into office, housing, employment, and other opportunities (Klor de Alva, 1988, p. 112-3). The lack of unity of Hispanics was also revealed when in 1995 California voters faced proposition 187. This bill proposed to deny all public services to undocumented immigrants in the state including medical services, public education, welfare benefits, etc. Election results showed that 23% of Hispanic voters in the state supported proposition 187 (www.igc.org/cfj/aboout187.html).

Contextual Factors

The concept of incorporation has been defined as the process through which immigrants are channeled into specific positions within the economic stratification system of a host society (Portes & Rumbaut, 1996, p. 83). According to this concept, where individuals end up in this stratification system does not depend on their level of acculturation or assimilation *per se*, but on their levels of human capital, pertinent government policies, the positive or discriminatory nature of the labor market at the time, and the extent to which existing ethnic communities in the U.S. have been able to receive and support the more recent immigrants. For a long time, inadequate models emphasizing the individual characteristics of immigrants were utilized in an attempt to explain their ability to find a niche in the economic structure of the United States. The contextual model proposed by Portes and Rumbaut, however, aims at overcoming the deficiencies of those individual models.

Portes and Rumbaut (1996) suggested that the political environment and the nature of the receiving ethnic community can easily nullify the potential effects of high or low human capital. The experiences of the 1980 Cuban Mariel immigrants clearly illustrate this point. Most members of this second wave of Cuban migration, who were poor and inexperienced in capitalism, were hired in Florida by well connected and successful Cuban entrepreneurs. Six years after their arrival into the U.S., approximately 20%

of the new immigrants who had received support from the already existing Cuban network, had become self-employed (Portes & Rumbaut, 1996, p. 91). Their experience shows that the U.S. policy of granting immediate political asylum to Cuban immigrants and providing them with special programs to help them resettle combined with the support received from the Cuban-American community, contributed more to the success of the new immigrants than their level of acculturation or human capital. Hispanic immigrants from Mexico, Central America and the Caribbean have not been equally successful because their contexts of incorporation have not been the same. Many Hispanic immigrants have become incorporated into the U.S. economy and have progressed socially and economically in spite of their low levels of acculturation and obviously without having been assimilated.

A New Theory

Consistent with Portes and Rumbaut's theory, I propose a theory related to the socio-economic development of Hispanics that includes individual, group and contextual factors. Such a model calls for managing the interactions between human capital, social policy-making, the labor market, and the role of ethnic communities in the United States as well as individual and group factors affecting inclusion. Such factors include: their time of arrival into the country, whether the particular group came to U.S. voluntarily or involuntarily, the degree of cultural similarity between the incoming and the dominant group, the racial characteristics (phenotypes) of the immigrant group, the desire of the group to become assimilated, the desire of the dominant group to accept the members of the incoming group, as equals, the size of the incoming group, and the degree of unity within the immigrant group or groups. According to the new proposed theory, all of these factors will be predictors of incorporation and of their socio-economic development.

Future research studies should focus on exploring to what extent full assimilation is a prerequisite for economic success and for obtaining greater social justice. Social researchers are also encouraged to utilize scientific methods for testing the validity of the previously mentioned model for assisting Hispanic populations inside and outside of the United States.

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Héctor Luis Díaz is a professor in the Department of Social Work at the University of Texas- Pan American.

The Emmigration of Foreign Workers to Spain: A New and Relevant Phenomenon in the History of Spain

Since American colonization, Spain has traditionally been an emitting country of emigrants until the 1970s. At that time Spain became, for the first time, a receiving country of immigrants. The immigrants arrive to rich and developed Europe and are seen as cheap manual labor in search of the promised land that flows with milk and honey. Unfortunately, they are eventually hit with others' lack of understanding and racism. Increasing immigration in Spain by people of different cultures, religions, and nationalities constitutes a challenge and defies Spanish society, not only in its economic, social, and cultural aspects, but also in the ethical and moral aspects. If Spaniards do not learn to coexist together as natives and immigrants, an increase of racism and xenophobia is sociologically foreseeable, bringing about interethnic conflicts.

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The history of civilizations is the history of human immigration. Humans are likely the most migratory beings on the planet. In previous evolutionary phases, there was the domestication of plants and animals, the creation of hierarchies and imperial military societies bringing about conquests, the control of other towns, and consequent migrations, which have created more and more multiethnic spaces.

European conquest and colonialism, related to industrial and commercial development, consistently opened byways between different towns and cultures, increasing the capitalist market and mass media which result in today's massive tourism, international migration (200 million people), and the 50 million refugees because of wars and starvation. The Europe of the 21st Century will be an even more multiracial mosaic, a Europe fertilized with immigrants and ethnic groups of the Third World with very different ways of life from those of western culture. Spain also walks the way of multiculturalism and ethnic-racial pluralism. Spanish society is no longer a traditional, ethnic, and culturally homogenous society regarding uniform values and beliefs.

The old demons of fascism and racism have returned to the European scene, surprising those who believed that conceited narcissistic beliefs had been left behind, buried within the cultured, democratic Europe. It is because gods, like demons, sleep, but do not die. For that reason, everyone in Europe is frightened by those extreme political forces that, throughout serious and real problems like those of unemployment, citizen insecurity, and drugs, urge ample sectors to look for scapegoats; i.e., the poor and the weak, upon which they can discharge their frustrations. A dangerous nationalism is arising in Europe that perceives foreigners, singularly the

Maghribian, and those of the Third World as *the new Barbarians*, increasing the ethnocentric and closed-minded yell of *Europe for the European*! The terrorist massacres of September 11, 2001, in New York, and March 11, 2004, in Madrid, have generated even more rejection toward immigrants, particularly Moroccans. The current phenomenon of international migration must be contextualized within the world-wide process of economic globalization, social inequality, and demographic imbalance.

The Structural Causes of International Migration: A Globalized, Unjustly Distributed, and Demographically Unbalanced World

Until now society had not comprised all of humanity into a global village, interrelated by means of communication and characterized by integration, universalism, and globalization. The world has become a great plaza with people of all races and cultures, and a great market with a large flow of capital, technology, resources, companies, and products. Some analysts have explained the increase of this universalistic integration, among other factors, with the triumph of liberal capitalism, of transnational and expansionistic nature; this would explain the rupture of closed ethnic and cultural borders. With the fall of communist states, prevailing capitalism could have developed a more universalistic, integrating and globalizing dimension. However, the expansion of world-wide capitalism produces other effects such as social segregation, fanatical nationalistic resistance, and the ethnic particularistic bastion. Why do these opposite processes to the universalistic globalization exist? Because capitalism integrates production and the market while increasing competition between the diverse social sectors and countries, and separating the northern and southern parts of the country even more: it creates a hierarchy of unequal structures of economic power into the hands of the industrialized rich countries. This process debilitates the national sovereignty and loyalties of ethnic groups and religions which is the reason why at times these social forces explode in exaggerated ethnic fanaticism, nationalism, or religion. In this sense some authors speak of how our modern society of consumption operates simultaneously a universalistic process of certain economic,

cultural, and social homogeneity that could metaphorically detribalize nationalistic structures while simultaneously producing a convex image, an inverse particularistic, ethnocentric, and nationalist process of symbolic tribalization of ethnic identity.

Knowing how to harmonize the open universalistic dimension and the convenient ethnic loyalty and patriotism presents challenges for the future. Loyalty conflicts, competition of resources, ethnic-national particularism, and rejection of the *other* have increased, reintroducing the old prejudices and the search for scapegoats. In the midst of these social crises, the people must maintain clear heads and open hearts.

Globalization receives criticism for being an inexorable phenomenon which (a) rejects market dictatorship, (b) culturally homogenizes, and (c) promotes cultural biodiversity and humanizing thought. Susan George, Director of the Transnational Institute de Amsterdam, noted:

Only now, and perhaps during the industrial revolution in Great Britain, have we legitimized the market to decide over our lives. And if we leave them alone, they will not only destroy Earth, but their systems will only allow that richest 5% of the world to subsist. As they say, take the best and throw away the rest (Country, 27-I-2000).

The economic *trash* of the world today, comparing northern and southern Spain, is constituted by millions of human beings, who in the midst of the 21st century, experience hunger and suffering for not being able to satisfy their minimum necessities. The UN has the responsibility of telling the world the current situation of the inhabitants of this planet every year. The UN's extensive 1998 extensive report confirms the process of the concentration of wealth. The 225 richest people accumulate a wealth equivalent to what the 2.5 billion poorest inhabitants (47% of the population) own. The inequalities reach frightening levels: the three richest people of the world, Bill Gates, the Sultan of Brunei, and Warren E. Buffett, have assets that surpass the GIP (Gross Interior Product) of the 48 least advanced countries (600 million inhabitants) combined. Viewing things in another light, 20% of the population control 86% of the world-wide wealth, and 1.3 billion poor people live on an income of less than a dollar daily. Goods owned by the 358 richest people are more valuable that the annual

rent of 2.6 billion inhabitants. With so much wealth in some countries and increasing amount of poverty in others, how can one be surprised of migrations and the pilgrimage to the promised land of the North that is so fantastically portrayed in the Third World by modern televisions, which are the bread and opium of the town for so many million poor men in the world. A structural reason that must be considered when analyzing international migration is the great imbalance of increases in population between the developed countries and those of the Third World.

After the factors of the accelerated and successful European industrial development of the 20th century, and with the fatalities of the two World Wars, Europe has a population of few children and many elders. Meanwhile, the Third World has experienced a vertiginous increase in population. Though the economically poor countries are very rich in demographic resources, young populations with abundant capacity to work, there is no type of employment. This fact grants a structural cause for international migrations. The demographic forecasts for the future, although it is necessary to take the data with certain reservations, are as follows.

According to the sources of the report of the United Nations (UN), Spain, with the lowest rate of fecundity in the world (1.07 children by woman in a fertile age), would have 30,226,000 inhabitants in 2050. That is less than the 39,628,000 it had in 2002, which had increased to 42,197,000 million in 2004 thanks to the increase of immigrants, which were more than 600,000 in 2003. In 2003, Spain took in one out of three people who immigrated to the European Union.

According to the division of population among the United Nations, the forecasts of population for the year 2050, comparing present population and the foreseeable one in 2050 by demographic zones, would be the following: Europe (present 727 million) anticipated for 2050, 603 million (-124 million); North America (present 314 million) anticipated for 2050, 438 (+124 million); South America (present 519 million) anticipated for 2050, 806 (+287 million); Africa (present 794 million) anticipated for the year 2050, 2 billion inhabitants (+1.206 million); Asia (present 3.7 billion) anticipated for the year 2005, 5.4 billion (+1.750 million).

The differences between the developed first world and the third world are evident, although these forecasts are exposed to many variations in such a big gap. For Spain, the population variations are of 39,600,000 inhabitants in 2000; 36,600,000 in 2025; and 30,200,000 in 2050. Spain, according to these forecasts, would need 12 million immigrants by 2050.

The variations of population between Europe and Africa are remarkable: after World War II, Europe represented 22% of the world-wide population and Africa only 8%. Now the two zones have the same proportion of 13%. Nevertheless, by the year 2050, Africa will be three times more populated than Europe. With reference to Spain, these data are significant: 50 years ago, Spain had a population three times bigger than Morocco; whereas within half a century, Morocco will have 60% more inhabitants than Spain.

Why be surprised then that half of the Arab adolescents wish to immigrate and leave their countries? Of the 2.8 billion inhabitants of the 22 African-Arab countries, 38% of the members of that population are less than 14-years-old. Morocco at the moment has about 30.5 million inhabitants, where 19% of the people are below the poverty threshold, occupying 123rd position (of 173) in an Index of Human Development (Spain has 21st). Fifty percent are illiterate. The percentage of unemployment among Moroccans between the ages of 15 and 34 is that of 50%, and every year Morocco need to employ 250,000 new young people. The birth-rate is 3.05 children per woman, while Spain's is 1.05 children per woman. There are 3 million Moroccans living away from their country; 300,000 of these immigrants are in Spain. Moroccans form the most numerous national group of foreigners in Spain, followed by the Latin Americans, who are driven to immigrate by the same structural factors previously mentioned: a globalized international market in capital, resources, and work; an unjust division between the North and South; a world-wide demographic imbalance and countries of origin with serious problems of poverty, political corruption, or citizen insecurity.

Spain for the First Time in Its History: Change from an Emitting to Receiving Country of Immigrants

The increase of immigration in Spain has been happening at a remarkable rate, mainly in the last four years, as it can be seen in the graph in Figure 1.

Figure 1. Evolution of the resident of foreign population in Spain.

Source**:** National Institute of Statistics (NIS). 2005

The total number of immigrants regularized at the beginning of 2005 was 3,691,547, which entails 8.4% of the 40 million Spanish populations. It would be necessary to add the people regularized during the first months of 2005, which would be about 4 million regularized immigrants, and an undetermined number of undocumented people, who some estimate at about half a million.

Immigrants concentrate themselves mainly in 5 of the 17 autonomous communities in Spain. Madrid and Catalonia have just about half of all immigrants, and if the following are added, the Valencia Community, Andalusia, and the Canary Islands, it would add up to 80% of all immigrants in Spain.

According to Figure 2, immigrants of American nationalities are the greatest contingent of 1,460,176 regularized people, which almost adds to 40% of all foreigners, exactly 39.6%. Of these, Ecuador is the greatest national group of Latin American immigrants (491,797), which is 13.3% of the total population of immigrants. Following it is Colombia, with 268,931 (7.3% of the total number of immigrants), Argentina with 151,878 (4.7%), Bolivia with 96,844 (2.6%), and Peru with 84,427 (2.3% of the total number of immigrants) in Spain.

Figure 2. Resident foreigners in Spain by areas of origin.

Source:National Institute of Statistics (NIS). 2005

The second group, by nationalities, would be the Europeans with 1,336,214 foreigners, (36.2% of the total immigrants). From the European Union (25 countries), 766,678 (20.8%) of the total foreigners are in Spain, surpassing the United Kingdom (224,841 foreigners) and Germany (131,887). And 561,476 are foreigners of other European countries (15.2% of the total number of immigrants), the most numerous being Romania with 314,349 (8.5% of the total number of immigrants), followed by Bulgaria with 91,339 (2.5%). African nationalities would be the third group, with 705,944

(19.1% of the total number of foreigners); Morocco being the most numerous national group with 505,373, again surpassing Ecuador (491,797), and representing 13.7% of the total of foreigners in Spain. There are 186,227 foreigners of Asian nationalities (5.0% of the total number of foreigners), the Chinese being the most numerous with 86,681 immigrants, adding to 2.3% of the total number of immigrants. In Oceania there are 2,284 foreigners (0.1% of immigration). (See Table 1 and Figure 3).

Table 1. Foreigners in Spain according to Nationality, to January 1, 2005

Total	**3.691.547**	**100.0**
European Nationalities	**1.336.214**	**36.2**
European Union (25)	766.678	20.8
United Kingdom	224.841	6.1
Germany	131.887	3.6
Italy	94.464	2.6
France	76.949	2.1
Portugal	65.611	1.8
Poland	35.962	1.0
Holland	33.554	0.9
Belgium	26.388	0.7

Other European countries	561.475	15.2
Rumania	314.349	8.5
Bulgaria	91.339	2.5
Ukraine	65.096	1.8
Russia	35.942	1.0
African Nationalities	**705.944**	**19.1**
Morocco	505.373	13.7
Algeria	45.791	1.2
Senegal	29.334	0.8
Nigeria	26.877	0.7
American Nationalities	**1.460.176**	**39.6**
Ecuador	491.797	13.3
Colombia	268.931	7.3
Argentina	151.878	4.1
Bolivia	96.844	2.6
Peru	84.427	2.3
Dominican Republic	56.421	1.5
Brazil	53.736	1.5

Venezuela	48.740	1.3
Cuba	44.594	1.2
Uruguay	42.062	1.1
Chile	35.579	1.0
United States	25.576	0.7
Asian Nationalities	**186.227**	**5.0**
China	86.681	2.3
Pakistan	31.652	0.9
Oceania	**2.284**	**0.1**
Apátrias	702	0.0

Source:National Institute of Statistics (NIS). 2005.

Figure 3. Main countries of origin.

Source:National Institute of Statistics (NIS). 2005.

The number of undocumented people in Spain at the beginning of 2005 was considered to be approximately one million, emphasizing the positive action of the present government who has undertaken a successful process of regularization of 700,000 people in 2005. However, the immigration of undocumented people continues to increase in Spain.

A study, "Immigration in Spain," by the Foundation of Saving Funds (FUNCAS), published in *Papeles de Economía* (January 2004), predicted that more than one fourth of those who reside in Spain in 2015 will be immigrants. According to the study, in 2015 there will be 11.7 million foreigners, which is 27.4% of Spain's population; by then that will be about

43 million inhabitants. Spain will take five years to double its present foreign population (2.3 million registered), having in 2008, 4.6 million immigrants, with increasing migrations of other origins than that of Europeans. According to the study, economic consequences are very positive: its rate of activity is 16.5 points over the average Spanish and already represents 5.14% of those affiliated with Social Security. According to a January, 2004 report given in *El País*,each foreigner sends an average of 322 euros monthly, which is about 2.3 billion euros annually as remittance of the immigrants to their countries. In comparison with Europe, here are data to reflect and compare: in Germany there are 7.3 million foreigners (9% of its population); Austria has a 9.1% of foreigners; Belgium, France, Holland, and England each have around 9%; and Sweden has 11.3% of foreigners.

Madrid has the greatest percentage of immigrants in Spain (13%). It has increased since 1997 from 3% to 13% of immigrants in reference to the total population; but Berlin has 13%, Paris 16%, London 20%, Toronto, Canada has 40%, New York 56%, and Los Angeles 64% of population of immigrants, although many of them are already citizens and legal residents.

And where do immigrants work? Of the 80% of jobs that the Spaniards do not want because of wages and working conditions, 33% are in the farming sector and collection of harvests, 20% are in domestic work and attention to the sick and elderly, 15% in construction, 12% in the catering business (kitchen/waiting), and 20% in other jobs. Figure 4 demonstrates types of immigrant positions.

Figure 4. Jobs of immigrants.

Source:National Institute of Statistics (NIS).

The Height of the Islam Phobia after September 11, 2001 and March 11, 2004

Given the height of fear against Islam in the last decade that has increased considerably after the terrorism attack of September 11, 2001, on New York, and the criminal attempt of March 11, 2004, in Madrid, the dialogue

between Islam and Christianity has become one of the greater challenges of 21st century. The terrorist massacre of March 11 in Madrid terrified the minds and hearts, not only of the Madrilenians and Spaniards, but of all people of good will in the world. Pain, rage, disgust, physical, and moral sentencing were, and still are the feelings shaped deeply in the *spoken* silence, in symbolic fires, and in the massive rituals of symbolic rebellion and fraternal communion with the victims. There will be in the history of Spain a before and after this date; a date with limits and symbolism that began with the televising of the horror of September 11 in New York. In those three diachronic years (2001-04), there was a war in Arabic territory, an invasion, thousands of deaths, as much of crossed Christians and Islamic fanatics with the hatred of violent Jews and Palestinians. In this cruel and fratricidal atmosphere, within a structure of inequality and world-wide injustice between few very rich countries (mainly western), and between many very poor countries, it is very difficult to construct a world with peace, justice, freedom, democracy, solidarity, equality, and brotherhood. Nevertheless, that is the human obligation and destiny if the human species wants to survive in a single world and common globalized home in justice and freedom, enriched with the plurality of cultures and religions of the world.

The challenge of the 21st century is the dialogue between Islam and Christianity, between East and West, exiling as much fanatical violent hatred to the crossed Christian, like anti-Islamic western fundamentalism, legitimized by pseudo-thinkers like Huntington (1997). According to what I wrote after the massacre of New York (2001) and before the terrorist attack of Madrid (2004):

The problem is not in that diverse civilizations exist, different religions, or diverse cultures, whose plurality is good for all humanity. The trouble is not in Islam, Judaism, nor in Christianity. It is in idolatrous perversion, and assassination of a legitimate religion (whichever that might be), but we perverted, rotted, and transformed it substantively into an idol, that turns the different ones into enemies that have to be exterminated. The profligate of Bin Laden is to assassin, using a religion in itself, which he perverts to ideologize and legitimize his fundamentalist violent fanaticism and his monstrous dreams of terror. That is not the religion of the immense majority

of the 1.2 billion Muslims in the world, which has a pacifist front and teaches not to kill. That type of perverse interpretation of Islam does not identify the immense majority of its Arabic religious leaders, who have condemned the terrorism of September 11, 2001 (Buezas, 2001).

La Opinión Pública of Spain, political institutions, social actors, and the Spanish townspeople all have proclaimed a unanimous speech, forceful and firm, condemning the terrorist authors and unloading the blame on other foreigners, who might have that same nationality, religion, and culture. At a public level, Spanish society and its institutional actors of the same diverse ideologies and identities before a tragic and painful commotion have avoided the easy path of the search for scapegoats on which to unload their fury, hatred, and pain for they could be immigrants in general and the Moroccans particularly. However, that proclaimed public speech cannot simultaneously coexist with other moods and feelings even more ambivalent and ambiguous, inclined to the xenophobia against immigrants, and mainly the peak of the already existing distrust against the Moroccans and against Islam. To discover this is the objective of an investigation that we are undertaking.

The height of Islam phobia in Europe and Spain, in contemporary times, has not appeared after the terrorism of September 11, 2001, and of March 11, 2004. Singularly, after the presence of Maghribian in France and Turks in Germany, and after the fall of the wall of Berlin, Islam phobia— a common universal enemy, diffused and exterior— replaced, in the imaginary free and Christian west, the Coco of Communism, and in Spain, the liberalism and masonry, as well as the Communism.

 The Council of Europe, through the European Commission against Racism (ECRI), published in 1999 a document warning of the boost of Islam phobia in Europe. In Spain, the murder of a Moroccan in Madrid on June 21, 1997, by an ex-guard civilian and the xenophobe doings of *El Ejido* (February 2000), along with other multiple aggressions, are the tip of the iceberg of that imaginary prejudiced anti-Moor that is manifested in my scholastic surveys as the group of foreigners against whom children and adolescents show more distrust and rejection: 11% would throw them to the Moor-Arabs of Spain in 1986, and 27% in 1997 (Buezas, 2000). Our hypothesis is

that after September 11, 2001, and March 11, 2004, that percentage has increased, surpassing even the gypsies, who have always been in my scholastic surveys, and in the studies of ASEP and of CIS, the most rejected group in Spain.

In a way, some authors, perhaps without trying, have contributed to some border characteristics and very diverse ideological slopes, but that come together in a very negative position against Islam and Islamic immigrants, which they visualize as non-integrated partners in the western democratic society. I am talking mainly about S. Huntington with his *Clash of Civilizations* (1997) and libel against the Mexican threat to the U.S. Helmut Schmidt, former president of Germany (2002) warned that Europeans must respect the cultural and religious identity of Islamic neighbors because of the 12 million European Muslims, 300 million surround us and there are 1.3 billion in the world; at the end of the century there will be as many Turks as French and Germans combined.

In this dialogue of Islam and Christianity, the church has many things to say and do. In Spain, the Catholic Church and the Islamic magnates have a long but necessary way to go, not only from the top of the hierarchy, but from the pastoral bases of the parishes and from the evangelists. An example is the combined action of the Episcopal Conferences of Mexico and the United States that have sent their respective governments a proposal to regulate the companies that offer the shipment of remittances that sometimes charge the immigrants up to a 20% for its services.

The Unified Utopia is Possible: We are all Brothers on a Single Earth

The immigration of the Third World to rich countries, and Hispano-Americans to Spain, will be a sign of identity in the 21st century. The challenge of the next millennium is to look for the difficult, but necessary, balance between equality and solidarity, within the framework of a constitutional democracy.

When observing the diversity of *others*, and those who are *different* who arrive to our land, just as for centuries Europeans went to theirs, it is

valuable to finalize this message with the Declaration of the Spanish Committee in the European Year Against the Racism, proclaimed in the Tricultural City of Toledo, on March 13, 1997:

The wealth of Spain and Europe, for centuries, fundamentally nourishes from the diversity of its traditions, cultures, ethnic groups, languages and religions, and of the certainty that the principles of tolerance and democratic coexistence are the best guarantees of the existence of Spanish and European society, open, pluricultural: diverse.

Spain by its historical tradition of coexistence between towns and cultures, by its possession of the Mediterranean, as well as by its ties with Ibero-America, can facilitate the establishment of multicultural models of relation with the immigrants.

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Tomas Calvo-Buezas is a professor of Anthropology and Director of the Center for the Studies on Migration and Racism, (CEMIRA), at the Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Spain.

A Reflection: The Other Faces of Immigration

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A Reflection: The Other Faces of Immigration

Ildefonso Gutiérrez Azopardo & José Martín Buenadicha

More than making commentaries, I would like to contribute some reflections about this theme knowing that it is impossible to generalize something as complex as immigration is becoming: diversity of people, diverse circumstances, diversity of causes, diversity of countries of origin and destiny, etc. All of this makes me be cautious, but I won't let that prevent me from giving my modest, personal and professional experience on the subject.

When speaking of immigration I refer to the one in Spain, where throughout its history there has been all types of immigration and much of it now comes from Latin America and Africa. I leave aside the immigration of foreigners who have chosen our country as a place to rest, well-being, businesses or culture, and what we call "forced emigration" that occurred in history with the million slaves taken mainly from Africa and, even continue today by the illegal traffic of human beings. I am going to talk about we could describe as "caused emigration," which takes place when the circumstances of a country make their inhabitants leave in search of a better life and sometimes to be able to conserve what they have. For that reason I

believe that first and foremost right of this class of immigrants is "to not be forced to leave their native country against their will."

Generally we insist on immigration as a cultural phenomenon; in numbers and statistics, in the laws of foreignism, the immigrant's integration, in the problems that children/adolescent education states, and in xenophobia and racism. With the object to extend and deepen in the phenomenon of immigration, I believe that it would be good to take a glance to the countries of origin of the immigrants to see what is happening there. This I dare to call "the other faces of immigration."

You only have to glean here and there into immigrant's personal testimonials and in the news.

These countries are usually referred to as "Third World Countries." Perhaps it would be necessary to specify this concept. With the exception of a few nations in which the nature has not been so bountiful or in which continued natural disasters have caused long term damages, the majority of these countries are rich not only for their potential resources, but also because of the few resources that have been exploited allowed them to satisfy their living necessities and to reach an economic and social level with a growth of well-being and a higher cultural level of its citizens. Although we classified them as countries in "development routes," they are in progress reaching higher goals and ambitious perspectives of the future. Recently, many have found new energetic resources: petroleum and the discovery of minerals essential for the development of new technologies.

More than being "poor countries" they are to be seen as "badly administered countries." They used to have a standard of life better than that we, with a buoyant economy, or at least a promising future; now a days, they can hardly feed their inhabitants and are on the boundaries of poverty and misery. They have gone from "countries that are badly administrated" to "impoverished countries." Significant examples of the present time are Equatorial Guinea in Africa, with half million inhabitants and another half million daily barrels of petroleum from marine research, and Ecuador, in America, where 60% of its budget is also covered by the income of petroleum coming from Ecuadorian Amazons.

The diminishing economic resources are due to numerable causes, in which we could include:

The Corruption of its Leaders
It is common that immigrants of those countries coincide that their leaders are corrupt: Ambitious politicians coming from the bottom; embezzlement of public funds, enrichment of the individual, of a few friends and relatives, or of their supporting party, unnecessary expenses on behalf of public property, all types of abuses, scorn of human rights of the population, creating a situation of distrust in which nobody believes in anybody. How many of those presidents are not accused of corruption? How many politicians have not been judged by this cause? How many of these leaders have not been associated with drug traffic or weapon contraband? How many have not fled the country with extreme amounts of money or have been discovered with bank accounts in fiscal paradises?

Delivery of Expensive Natural Resources
It is certain that with a lack of means of technology and capital, it is necessary depend on foreign companies. These companies have imposed unfair contracts and established unreasonable concessions that cause serious damage to the countries where they have settled; no only related to resources, but also in areas of public service. Tens of oil, mining, and lumber companies are leaving these countries stripped. Many of them, at the moment, are in search of petroleum to prevent them from being dependant on the Persian Gulf by means of a system of new conquest and neocolonization that hardly differs from previous centuries.

The Concentration of Land in the Hands of Few
During an investigation performed in Colombia with the "empera" indigenous groups about why they had been pushed towards the worst part of their territory, I used the cadastre to see how the process of expulsion had taken place. After internal wars, much of the land, abandoned by farmers or of those who have been violently expelled, ended up at hands of an emergent class of landowners. Just ask the displaced what happened when they returned to reclaim there land. Lands that were occupied by natives, with a lack of documentation that their ancestors never had nor needed, have become property of great multinationals that expels the authentic

owners without mercy. This is the first step to emigration from farms to cities.

Instigated War
Amongst an exposition of conflicts, it is easy to select a military solution. The contenders and factions of each country are provided with weapons. Part of the 600 million light arms that wander the world without control arrived at those destinies. The power of these weapons is utilized to invade territories that possess the necessary resources for progress and development of many nations. Single cuts of press can make a chronicle of announced wars in which in addition to expulsion, have caused thousands of deaths and the evacuation of hundreds of families that have to look for place to live because refugee camps don't have the capacity to take them in. These warlike disputes are liked to constant noises of sabers and threats of coup d'etats that create an unstable atmosphere prelude of fled and abandonment.

Evasion of Capital and Taxes
When great capital isn't profitable, it is taken to fiscal paradises far from the country's economy taking with it the savings of thousands of families, leaving in misery those that are less well off that had deposited their hope of the future in banking boxes and institutions without being able to recover them.

The evasion of taxes by means of tax-free zones and threats to close force to governments to grant exemptions to those economic groups that could contribute more to the public treasury to cover the expense of health, education, and retirement that citizens require.

Destruction of the Environment
Gleaning news: The fever of "coltan" is destroying the national park of Kivu, in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, with the consequent deterioration of its fauna and flora. The native Chilean mapuches protest for the construction of the Ralco dam in their territory. The dam of Urra in Colombia will cover an extension of 70,000 hectares with the consequent damage and expulsion of the controlling natives- katios. The "environmental judgment of the century" was in Ecuador against the transnational petroleum company Texaco for the disaster caused in the

Ecuadorian Amazonía by toxic remainder spills, with a consequent contamination of the land and rivers and the almost extinction of two indigenous ethnic groups. Lumber companies in Africa and America are devastating and deserting vast territories, clearing the base of sustenance of thousands of people. The forest recovery of these areas require hundreds of years. Valleys of the chocoano rivers of Colombia have been turned into stone after the passage of dredges of the Choco' Pacific, a mining company, in search of gold and platinum.

The Lack of a Just Commerce

Currently, international trade policies evaluate everyone with different measures, depending on whom it is applied to. Rich countries demand the liberation of the markets of southern countries with the excuse that this is the only way for economic growth, but they do not apply for the same liberalization policies. Northern countries have protectionist policies, establishing strong commercial barriers to protect their markets. According to experts, tariff barriers annually cost developing countries $100,000 million, twice of what it receives for development aid. One of the clear cases is the commercialization of coffee; one of the raw materials that moves the most currency in the world. In spite of the high prices obtained bye the Coffee Producing Countries Association a couple of years back, speculation comes from great multinationals thanks to the enormous capacity of purchase and storage in order to raise or lower prices. Consequences are paid by workers, that before the increase of the costs of maintaining coffee plantations and low prices, lose their jobs and lands. Lead by desperation, they leave everything behind in search of a job at whatever cost.

External Debt

Some numbers: The real debt of the 52 indebted countries of the world is of $375,000 million. The G8 has promised to clear a debt of $100,000 million. At the moment, they have reduced it to $46,000 million. Those 52 countries pay $55.8 million daily.

Human Plundering

The first cause of impoverishment is the dramatic drains of human beings countries go through. Along with exhausting their natural resources, we are

also draining their human resources, because of the number of individuals that have left.

Not counting Brazil and Mexico, with a population over the rest of the countries of the continent, it is calculated that there are more than 15 million emigrants from Latin America. To the majority, this emigration makes up at least 10% of their population happening in a relatively short time. With the aggravating circumstances, the rest of the population is on the wait to see how things happen before leaving.

The emigrant population is generally young and in search for any type of work. Most are enterprising people, assuming the challenge of an uncertain future, with the sufficient economic resources to travel; a high percentage of people with university studies, technicians, professionals, and other entrepreneurs. This is an escape of "brains" which concerns the level of health of the continent with thousands of doctors, dentists, nurses, and sanitary personnel that have left their countries in last the years.

News about Africa: There are more Africans in the US today than during slave traffic days. The Sub-Saharan Africa counts with about 600,000 individuals; most of them are professionals living in the main cities of the United States. There are 250,000 African professionals in the rest of the US, qualified personnel, lawyers, engineers, experts in new technologies, doctors and nurses working outside Africa. Qualified Africans that left the country to study in European or American universities, or did their Postgraduate or Master degree abroad to complete their academic formation, have a wide range of opportunities emigrating to Europe, United States, Canada, or Australia. All the studies have by one form or another been paid by the State, without a penny being spent by receiving countries in the formation of these professionals.

The drain people are exposed to and the loss of millions of professionals is perhaps the most important factor of impoverishment of the countries of origin.

At the same time, human expulsion has become a temporal social, political, and economic solution for these countries. A person of high standing in Morocco recently said in an interview "I am going to be honest, each

Moroccan emigrant who crosses the Strait is a mouth less to feed, one less happy person that remains at home and if the things go well, he will shortly have the sources to help his relatives who remain here. Then why should we prevent them from leaving?" Is it possible to refer to governments and countries who export emigrants as if they were kings and heads of tribes with the African slaves in last centuries?

Without any type of investment, minimal structures, elaborating projects, or becoming indebted with loans, they receive thousands of million dollars and euros from workers abroad. They are remittances that have begun to form part of the economy and are calculated with the banking and commercial organizations and the budgets of States that receive them. They surpass the development help destined to the Third World. In many nations they also surpass any other type of entrance of currency. Immigrants in Spain have sent their respective countries about 3,000 million euros in the last year.

This money is used for acquisition of a house, education for the children, health of the family, and debt payments, the rest is used for food and consumer goods. An amount of money is sometimes used for opening a small business and very little is saved. The damage caused by banking organizations with bankruptcies, cases in Argentina, Ecuador, Venezuela, prevents people from trusting these organizations with their money. This has increased the purchase of consumer goods, even with the risk of price increase for their constant demand. If these remittances are not used in productive investments, they are going to become bread for today and for hunger for tomorrow. Receiving and spending is becoming part of a new lifestyle, considered a "national disaster" by some Central American countries. Some describe this as a "dependency syndrome." Monthly, thousands of families wait for the money sent by their relatives, leaving behind all attempts of looking for the solution for their problems by their own means. Without these remittances, many countries would enter a catastrophic recession.

Social and Family Disintegration
Negative consequences have been detected some time ago. There are many broken homes and abandoned children. The process is simple and sad when the husband or wife leaves. If it is the first time, the money will be sent

promptly for the first months or years, after some time the money will be sent sporadically, and by the end you don't hear from him at all because he has started a new home with another woman. If the woman leaves, the husband or person left in charge lives waiting for the money that isn't always used for what it was intended, like buying a house or paying for the children's care and education.

This disintegration is also noted in society. There is always a sensation of "save yourself" and those that stay have to aspire to leave someday. Those that are deported prepare the opportunity to return it without anyone being able to convince them otherwise. Those most serious cases are those that are expelled for some crime. In Central America, the bands of delinquents called "maras" constitute a serious problem, for they frighten the society and that has motivated a meeting between the presidents of the affected countries in search of a solution that is not easy to find.

At What Cost Are Receiving Countries Favored?
Positive factors are appraised from receiving countries with affirmations like: "northern country's development will be sustainable with the incorporation of immigrants." Immigrants make a substantial contribution: …to the construction of the planetary community, they visualize the interdependence between cities, and show that there is no longer an inside and outside, to the production of the human community, and to the truth of our social organization, since they envision the deep inequalities between the North and South and those that exist within the South alone. The presence of immigrants affects demography positively. The contribution to the Social Security of immigration creates the annual surplus that registers in their accounts in the last years. Remittances support the families and reduce labor tensions, etc...

The positive aspects are real and we are living and perceiving them every day, but at what or who's cost? Is it that millions of remittances are the price of the suffering of the trip, the abandonment of their loved ones, of uprooting, of the marginalization, the solitude and the anguishes to obtain proper documentation and of a job not properly paid?

The political directives of the North are directed towards a radical control and decrease of immigration. What will be of the countries of origin the day

immigration is drastically suspended, after they have been deprived of natural resources? Isn't it best to prevent than to heal?

While there is an impoverished country, there will be immigration.

Ildefonso Gutierrez Azopardo is a specialist in refugees and African Americans. José Martín Buenadicha is affiliated with the Center for the Studies of Migration and Racism, CEMIRA, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Spain.

Bilingual Education: Past, Present, Future

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Bilingual Education: Past, Present, Future

Kelly Chaudhry

Educators are generally futurists. It is the nature of the profession to think about the future for students and try to prepare them for it using the knowledge and skills accessible today. Bilingual Education has a troubled history, an improved present, and a promising future. In order to prepare for the future, it is helpful to first take a look at history. It is then necessary to analyze the present so that the plans for the future are built upon research and evidence that will yield greater opportunities for continued improvement.

Bilingual Education has been a source of debate since the beginning of formal education. Immigration, poverty, and language barriers are not new challenges for educators in the state of Texas. In the year 2001-2002, there were approximately 75,000 immigrant students being educated within the Fort Worth and Dallas Independent School Districts (Texas Education Agency, 2003). In 2001-02, one in every seven students in Texas received ESL services (TEA, 2003). These immigrants are from families that are

often underprivileged and their abilities to communicate in the English language are limited. When examining the demographics among these immigrants, it is clear that the highest percentages of immigrant students are Hispanic, mostly having emigrated from Mexico. An estimated 7.0 million unauthorized immigrants resided in the U.S. in January 2000. Mexico is the largest source country, and the states with the largest increases in unauthorized population are California, Texas, Illinois, Arizona, Georgia, and North Carolina (BCIS, 2003). Accompanied with the desire to provide a better life for their children, many of these immigrant families have chosen to move to the United States as a means of survival. The language barrier that they are faced with, however, also serves as a barrier to rising out of the poverty that they were trying to escape. As long as immigration continues, the Hispanic population will continue to increase in the state of Texas. In 2000-2001 Hispanics accounted for 41% of all students (2003), and consequently, the need for an analysis of the various language programs is apparent.

Bilingual Education formed as a result of inequities in the flawed educational system and a quest for the equality of opportunity. Bilingual and ESL programs are able to help many of these immigrant students as they acquire the English language, but the gap between these learners and the higher socio-economic students continues to rise (Cornell, 1995). Consequently, the quest for equality of opportunity continues today.

The language barrier faced by so many immigrants was formally addressed when Bilingual Education became an official program in 1968 with the passage of the Bilingual Education Act, Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. This legislature provides that Limited English Proficient (LEP) students or English Language Learners (ELL) must be educated and given extra services or assistance in acquiring the English language so that they are able to attain an education that is equivalent to their English-speaking counterparts. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 had previously addressed segregation and equality but not specifically the language of many minority groups. This was not addressed until the May 25th Memorandum, which modified Title VI of the Civil Rights Act to include provisions protecting the rights of national origin, language minority persons.

In Texas, the enactment of House Bill 103 solidified Bilingual Education programs. Although there were a few programs that existed prior to the mandate, the first 76 Bilingual Education programs were implemented in 1969. The bill was not effective, however, because there were no funds allocated to the development and accountability of the programs. The enactment of Senate Bill 121 in 1973 mandated and allocated funds for implementation. It was later struck down by the English Only Rule. Several court cases followed these rulings. The most legendary court case includes *Brown vs. the Board of Education,* which promoted the desegregation of public schools. An additional landmark case is *Lau vs. Nichols* in 1974. The *Lau* decision by the U.S. Supreme Court was that children who could not understand the language of instruction were effectively excluded from the educational process and were, therefore, denied access to quality education (*Lau vs. Nichols,* 1974).

There are 36 states nationwide that have legislative provisions for funding LEP student instruction. Nineteen states list no separate program of aid to local districts for serving LEP students, and a handful of states note that Bilingual Education is a responsibility of the federal government under Title VII (Baker & Markham 2002). Additional funding for bilingual programs is available from many sources. Federal funding comes mostly from Title III, previously known as Title VII grants. According to the National Association for Bilingual Education (NABE, 2002), federal Bilingual Education funding increased to $685 million in 2002. The Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Language Affairs (OBEMLA) also states that $20 million is available in Language Acquisition State Grants for Bilingual Education every year, and 25% of all grant money automatically goes to those schools that have the most LEP students (Education Commission of the State [ESC], 2003). In Texas, the projected figure for Language Acquisition Grants in the fiscal year 2003 was $62,018,328 (NABE, 2002). In addition to this, many districts receive Title II funds from the U.S. Department of Education that provide assistance to districts in recruiting and training quality teachers and principals.

Identifying students for Bilingual Education begins upon enrollment into the public school. When a student enrolls in school, the parents are asked to complete a Home Language Survey. If a language other than English is

written anywhere on the survey, the students English language skills will be assessed. If the student does not score fluent, he or she will be "reclassified" as LEP (or more recently, English Language Learner, ELL). Any student that has been identified as LEP is eligible for bilingual or ESL services. At the secondary level, bilingual is typically not offered and therefore students are eligible for ESL service. Native language proficiency for transfer of knowledge and skills is assumed.

There is no legal guidance given to educators as to when or how to transition a student from Spanish to English. Therefore, the curriculum across the state for LEP students varies greatly, depending on the philosophy of the school district. A student is no longer classified as Limited English Proficient when they achieve fluent English proficiency and demonstrate academic proficiency by passing the Reading and Writing portions of the TAKS in English (grades 3-12). They are permitted to remain in the bilingual program in some districts; however, the schools do not receive funding for the student. Students who enter the program in PRE-K, Kindergarten, or First Grade cannot be reviewed for possible exit until the Second Grade, where they must score in the fortieth percentile or above on a state approved, standardized test.

Accountability for immigrant learners is a present concern for educators and will continue to be in the future. Nationally, the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act has mandated several objectives with regard to Limited English Proficient students. NCLB mandates include the development of instructional benchmarks defining the language proficiency LEP students should attain; inclusion of LEP students and disabled students in the academic assessments required of all other students; and assessment of LEP students, providing reasonable accommodations in language to yield accurate and reliable information about student progress in meeting state standards.

Texas has already made great efforts toward the accomplishment of the mandates. The state requires that all immigrant students take the Texas Assessment of Knowledge and Skills (TAKS) and Reading Proficiency Tests in English (RPTE) tests. Recent immigrants may be exempted from the TAKS test during the first three years in the U.S.; however, there are

strict guidelines that dictate the exemption of a student. The RPTE, on the other hand, is required by all Limited English Proficient students in the state of Texas. Students are administered the RPTE annually until they achieve a level of Advanced.

When analyzing the TAKS results in the state of Texas, there are three main subgroups that are performing noticeably lower than the rest. Results of the TAKS in the spring of 2003 indicate that of all White students tested, 92% met the minimum standard set by the state. On the other hand, Limited English Proficient (LEP) students had the lowest success with only 68% meeting the minimum standard. Closely behind the LEP population is the African-American subgroup with 77%, and the economically disadvantaged subgroup with 78% meeting the minimum standards (2003). Although the success of these three subgroups has increased significantly over the past 10 years, the achievement gap has not yet narrowed to a satisfactory level. With the new implications of No Child Left Behind, it is crucial that the curriculum affecting these lower performing subgroups receive adequate attention and improvements that will result in future academic success.

While the needs of the English Language Learners are being addressed in the ESL and bilingual programs, many of these students are still showing large gaps in achievement when compared with students in the regular programs. Many of the difficulties in educating LEP students are blamed on the levels of socio-economics that can hinder their success. Students receiving free and reduced breakfast/lunch often have very different needs than students in the middle and high class neighborhoods. Although poverty occurs in all races and all countries, there is a pattern that can be observed in the achievement gap. Students living in poverty have very different needs than those who are raised in the middle or high class. As explained by Ruby Payne in her book, A Framework for Understanding Poverty, there are hidden rules and language patterns that must be addressed in order to provide students of poverty with an opportunity for success. Dr. Payne states,

An individual brings with him/her the hidden rules of the class in which he/she was raised. Schools and businesses operate from middle-class norms and use the hidden rules of middle class. For our students to be successful,

we must understand their hidden rules and teach them the rules that will make them successful at school and work.

This is part of the missing curriculum for many students that needs to be improved. In order to achieve academic success as measured by the TAKS, the language patterns and contexts used on the TAKS test must be directly taught to students. The current curriculum addresses many of the vocabulary, grammar, and syntax rules, but unless a teacher is aware of the hidden language rules, many students are unable to succeed even after they have acquired the English language.

In order to improve the results for the Limited English Proficient students, it is first necessary to understand the current models and research available in order to have a positive effect on the future of these programs for English Language Learners (ELL). Bilingual Education can mean many things and be seen in many different models or programs. It is like an umbrella over the Limited English Proficient or English Language Learner student population. While bilingual instruction is not mandatory under Federal legislation, the legally and educationally safe program is often said to be the offering of bilingual instruction. There is current research to support and dispute each program model; including the dual-language two-way model (viewed as the "Cadillac" of the models), the transitional model (the "Chevy"), and ESL (the "economy-class"). The following explanations of these program models will provide additional information; however, it is important to note the implementation of each model varies greatly.

The "Cadillac" of the bilingual instruction program is dual-language. Dual language programs may be one-way or two-way Bilingual Education. In a two-way dual language program, each classroom consists of about half native English speakers paired with half native Spanish (or other target language) speakers. In a one-way model there are Spanish speakers learning both languages simultaneously without native English language speakers learning Spanish in the class. In both models the curriculum is taught using both languages and the goal is that all students become bilingual, bicultural, and biliterate. The Dual Language Program requires highly trained teachers that are proficient in the target languages. The teachers that teach the English component are not necessarily hard to find, but they must be trained

in language acquisition techniques and certified by the state to support ELL students. The other target language, usually Spanish in the state of Texas, also requires highly trained teachers, but they must have a high proficiency of Spanish language skills and be certified by the state in Bilingual Education. Materials for this program must be made available in both languages. This program can be costly in the beginning. However, depending on teacher availability, the cost of personnel is no greater than the cost would be without the two languages. The price for materials, on the other hand, doubles as it is necessary to purchase books and supplies in English and in Spanish. Students generally continue in a dual-language program throughout elementary school, and teachers are needed at all grade levels.

An example of an exemplary program model would be Coral Way Elementary School in Miami, Florida. "As the nation's oldest (1936) 20th century public bilingual school, Coral Way represents one of the most successful bilingual schools in the nation…the students of Coral Way score at or above district, state, and national averages on standardized tests" (Pellerano and Fradd, 1998). Two-way programs benefit the community by maintaining the home-language of all students while exposing them to the second language at a young age. Several districts in the Dallas area have considered two-way programs based on brain research and cognitive growth resulting from the acquisition of a second language. Dual-language models yield the best long-term results for students acquiring a second language (Thomas & Collier, 1995).

The subsequent program model is Transitional Bilingual Education (TBE), also referred to as early-exit Bilingual Education. The native language is used for instruction at the primary grades so that students are able to gain cognitive understanding of the basics, which can then be transferred into English as they acquire the language. There is a lot of variation in this formerly popular model in Texas. The common thread, however, is that students are encouraged to reach English proficiency at the fastest rate possible so that they can exit the program and join the regular classroom. The Transitional Bilingual Program also requires teachers that are proficient in both target languages. The teachers must be highly trained and certified by the state. The difference is that TBE programs generally go through the

third or fourth grade. Students arriving after the third grade generally receive intensive ESL instruction until they are ready to exit the program and enter a regular classroom. Therefore, the number of staff required for 4-6 grades is much smaller. In addition to this savings, materials in the second language are generally only required through the third or fourth grade (depending on the program). Arlington ISD has a TBE program, and in the 2002-2003 school year, they budgeted approximately $8.3 million dollars for their elementary school programs. That averages out to be about $1,073 per student enrolled in the program (AISD, 2002-2003). Within this figure, teacher's salaries are included and the teachers would be necessary regardless of the program model.

The third common program is ESL, a form of immersion (not to be confused with submersion "sink or swim," which is unconstitutional). Immersion in a language means that the target language is the primary language for instruction and specific strategies and modifications are made to ensure student success in acquiring that language. Students are learning content at the same time that they are learning the target language. English as a Second Language (ESL) classes were generally a pull-out program but have more recently been moving toward an inclusion model. The pull-out program is known to be the least effective (Thomas & Collier, 1995) and the most expensive. The inclusion model requires more teachers in a building be certified in ESL so that they can support the ELL students that are in their classrooms. Fort Worth ISD requires that all of their new staff be ESL certified so that their large ELL population is served without the need for extra resource ESL teachers. Space on a campus is also made available when teachers can accommodate their ELL students in the regular classroom. Although ESL has generally been avoided for Spanish speaking students in the state of Texas, research has been completed that shows immersion programs to be effective in the long term. According to a 30-year review of Bilingual Education conducted by the National Academy of Sciences, "There is no conclusive evidence that native language programs are superior to English Immersion or ESL programs; teaching children to read and write without first developing literacy in their native language does not have negative effects" (Porter, 2000).

School boards' and administrators' legal and fiscal decisions should be based on valid research and detailed accounts of effective programs (Connoley & Simmons, 2000). Based on the information previously presented about these three common program models, the inclusion ESL approach appears to be the most cost effective for the school districts (short-term), however, the dual-language model offers students of all language backgrounds more educational opportunity and possibility for long term success in a multilingual community. It is the duty of the administrator to ensure the effectiveness of the program regardless of the model being implemented. Bilingual instruction is usually best but there is nothing worse than a poorly implemented program to serve LEP students. The future of Bilingual Education and the students it serves depends greatly upon the ability of the administrator to lead an effective program.

The role of the administrator in a bilingual school setting is very important. Effective schools serve language minority students in four ways: implementing effective, aligned, standards-based programs; building teacher and organizational capacity to serve language minority students; using family and community resources; and building firm foundations for postsecondary education (Funkhouser, Leighton, & Weiner, 2000). Administrators must lead the faculty in implementing effective, aligned, standards based programs. In addition to the curricular differences, training for staff members in strategies for communicating with and teaching to Limited English Proficient students is vital.

The administrator on a bilingual campus does not have to be bilingual, but he or she needs to be sensitive to language learners and have bilingual personnel or resources available for students and their families. This is part of building teacher and organizational capacity to serve LEP students. It is not possible nor is it reasonable for a school to have staff and materials available in every language spoken on the campus. However, when a majority language is represented many campuses find ways to connect with the community in the native language in an effort to improve student success.

Family and community connections are also very significant. It is helpful to locate community members that can assist the school in communicating

with recent immigrants. The parents will often bring a friend or neighbor with them the first time they come to enroll a student. This is the perfect opportunity to get contact information for future reference.

Building a firm foundation for future education is a primary goal of elementary education. In an effort to close the achievement gap, the administrators and teachers must keep in mind the social and linguistic needs of the English Language Learners. Many students arrive with very little background knowledge in the concepts that are valued in our educational system. With time, exposure, and opportunity, these students can achieve success.

The future role of an administrator in a bilingual setting is an essential one as immigration will continue indefinitely in the United States. Any effective program is focused on the learner. Understanding the history and legality involved in educating immigrant and LEP students is key to providing equality of opportunity in education today so that students will be successful tomorrow. Educators are often the only voice that many LEP students have; therefore, they must use their voice well and continue to be advocates for these learners.

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Kelley Chaudhry is an assistant principal at Oakwood Terrace, HEB Independent School District, Bedford, Texas.

Diglossia, Assimilation, and Bilingualism Among the Hispanics of the United States
With the publication of the U.S. Population Census data for the year 2000, an agreement arises between the social analysts that the Hispanic community, the largest minority of the country, is the carrier of a great demographic potential: socio-cultural, political, and economic. Because of this ascertainment, and among the field of the projective sociolinguistics, diverse authors have set out to draw scenarios of the future of the Spanish language in the U.S. These scenarios are basically related to situations of diglossia, linguistic assimilation, and bilingualism; a trio that does not exhaust the possible alternatives that could be derived from the coexistence of the English and Spanish languages as languages in contact on the same territory.

Diglossia, Assimilation, and Bilingualism Among Hispanics in the United States

Secundino Valladares

With the publication of the U.S. Population Census data for the year 2000, an agreement arises between the social analysts that the Hispanic community, the largest minority of the country, is the carrier of a great demographic potential: socio-cultural, political, and economic. Because of this ascertainment, and among the field of the projective sociolinguistics,

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In this work I try to conceptually outline these three alternatives: to empirically observe its development; to suggest the viability of any other, as is formation of a new language; to equip this exposition with a certain historical perspective, particularly to the 1970s, when I studied the phenomenon of the linguistic assimilation of the Hispanics in the area of the San Francisco Bay, California; and finally to contribute to clear the horizon with my proposal that, in spite of its founded reasons, is much of a gamble. Unfortunately, sociolinguistics does not have the degree of prediction as linguistics. But, not for that reason, is this work a mere exercise of *wishful thinking*. Nor does it aspire to become a prophecy that demands its own fulfillment. The intention is more modest. The future of Spanish in the U.S. is about to be written. That reality, like all socio-cultural facts, will be the result of a laborious process of social reconstruction, where the creativity and imagination of a multitude of social actors will be jeopardized. This paper tries to participate in that complex process of social construction of the linguistic reality of Hispanics.

It Was Diglossia in the Beginning

It is now very common to apply, in its ampler sense, the concept of diglossia that Charles A. Ferguson developed in 1959. According to this author, diglossia is the discriminated use of two varieties of the same language, as is observed with the classic and popular Arab and classic and popular Greek. Nevertheless, after the revision of the concept on behalf of John A. Gumperz (1966), and especially of Joshua A. Fishman (1992), an agreement of convenience on behalf of the sociologists of the language was reached, far more than the sociolinguists; everything has to be said, that the diglossia applied to the discriminated use of two varieties linguistics of any type (two different languages for example), as long as a variety took care of the functions of the higher culture and the other was limited to cover the

functions with the lower culture. This way things are clear that the English and Spanish and of the U.S. is in this type of situation, since they have been in contact with each other in the North American southwest since the first half of the 19th century. A situation in which the English of the winners covers the fields of policy, administration, and education, while Spanish of those who were overcome or are recent immigrants is relegated to the scope of the family, conversations of the kitchen, or to a folkloric oral tradition that has been progressively diminished. More than the numbers of the surveys, the testimonies of qualified informants are eloquent. Rubén Salazar (1992), news director of the TV channel AMEX in Los Angels, and columnist of the *Los AngelesTimes* stated,

One knows from the beginning: to speak Spanish marks to you. Your mother, your father, your brothers and sisters, your friends, all speak Spanish. But the bus driver, the teacher, police, the store employee, the man who we pay rent to every month - all this people who do things important – none speak Spanish. (p. 329)

There is no doubt that English is what is used in public spaces or occupations with a minimum of social recognition, while Spanish is reduced to familiar relations and friendships. Richard Rodriguez is a Hispanic writer who constructs this distribution of the English and Spanish languages with diglostic thoroughness. In his autobiography, *Hunger of Memory*, Rodriguez (1982), with diligent meticulousness, relates the terrible experience of a 6-year-old boy, son of Mexican immigrants, who attends a parochial school run by Irish nuns in Sacramento, California for the first time:

...in my condition as a socially underprivileged boy, I considered that Spanish was a private language. What I needed to learn in school was that it had the right, and the obligation, to speak the public language of the gringos... luckily, my teachers fulfilled their responsibility without any kind of concession to sentimentality. They clearly knew that what I needed was to speak the public language... because I suspected that English was intrinsically a public language whereas Spanish was private. This is how I quickly learned the radical difference between the language at school and the language at home. (p. 19-20)

After this declaration of principles, Richard Rodriguez attacked the bilingual education because it turns something into an ethnic subject, when it is but an entrance test to a social class; that is to say, the transit from a working-class family to a middle-class classroom. He himself recognized this baptism by immersion to English to the point of suffocating with the devilish phonemes that choked him. He soon reached the conclusion, by the gentle hand of his teachers, that English was the language of his public identity. For a Hispanic boy from Sacramento, the acquisition of English as a second language entails a traumatic experience. More than just a linguistic difficulty, a Latin boy, said Rodriguez, must overcome a psychological difficulty, since having to acquire the language of the bus driver and the pattern of a father, and imposes the inevitable loss of the most intimate symbols of childhood. Rodriguez himself confirmed the irreparable loss:

As my brothers and I learned more and more English, conversations with my parents diminished.... the meals became an ocean of silence where you could only hear the noises made by the cutlery pressed against the plate. My mother accompanied her brief comments with a smile, while my father, on the other end of the table, chewed in silence while staring into the ceiling. (1982 p. 23)

As one sees, the diglostic situation that is stable by nature tends to break its normal balance in the distribution of functions: the public sector for English, the private one for Spanish. We see that in the second generation, when an accelerated linguistic assimilation takes place, the balance is broken in favor of the dominant language, English. Richard remembered that, from his early Americanization, he could never naturally pronounce the words in Spanish and was never able to call his parents by the name of mama and papa, something that would have been a constant reminder of the drastic change experimented. On the other hand, the English expressions *mom and dad* did not seem suitable for his parents. But before arriving at this situation of intergenerational silence, the diglostic balance always ends up breaking when on a fatiguing day, the school principal inquisitively asks the Latin parents summoned to the school to discuss the school problems of their son: "Why aren't you speaking in Spanish to your son?" Mr. Rodriguez related the scene:

One Saturday morning, three nuns show up to the house. They sit on the blue sofa in the room, stiff as three solemn candles. From the door of the other room, you could observe the clash of two worlds, the faces and the voices of the school invading the familiar atmosphere of the house. When suddenly, something like this was heard:

"Mr. Rodriguez, their children aren't only speaking Spanish in the house?" After that, they direct their attention to my mother.

"Would it be possible that you and your husband encourage the boys to speak English when they are at home?" Of course, my parents said yes. (1982, p.20)

This was the beginning of the end: the end of a respect toward parents who vainly made an effort and only obtained ridiculous situations and laughable sounds in English; the end of the intergenerational communication; and the end of the diglostic balance between the two languages. But there is something more. When a language is permanently associated to segments of a poor and ignorant population, to the lowest groups of the occupational scale, that language becomes a negative label of the speaker, a mark of social stigma. The perverse equation of where there is poverty and ignorance there is Spanish, makes the opposite equation true: where there is social promotion and academic preparation, the Spanish language disappears and English is implanted. In both equations, the popular stereotype associates Spanish with poverty and English with social ascent, which diminishes the self-esteem and increases the linguistic auto-hatred toward Spanish at the same time that it incites a strong feeling of linguistic loyalty toward English. This definition of Spanish as a mark of social stigmas is another form of making the language to which the lower culture corresponds in the diglostic distribution negative. And this is down through the school, as Rubén Salazar confirms again:

Finally, the day in which your teacher - that person who has taught you the important things in life – tells you that speaking Spanish is an error. Then you go home, you kiss your mother and speak a few words in Spanish. Then you approach the window with a lost glance, while your mother asks you:

"What is wrong with you?"

"Nothing, mother," you answer, because you cannot understand where the error is (1992, p. 329).

The disqualification of the subordinate language in the diglostic situation can be more blunt. As Salazar testifies in a report presented to U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, in San Antonio, Texas, December 1968, many students of the North American southwest have seen how their language was defined as a dirty language, of dirty words and thoughts; in short, a language of disgust. All of this derives from feelings of alignment and hostility, confusion of identity, and low self-esteem. As the state senator of Texas, Jose Bernal, said, "People in charge of education have tried to rid our language, to the point that the Mexican-American children feel ashamed to speak Spanish and to be Mexican" (Sandoval, 1992, p.331). This devaluation of Spanish, with its lack of emotional affection and linguistic loyalty, is the natural consequence of a situation that reflects the asymmetric relations of domination and subordination between both languages. The conviction of the role of Spanish in the U.S. is that there are second-generation Latinos, perfectly bilingual, that affirmingly ask, "In the University of Madrid, the classes are in English, right?" One of discoveries that exchange students from the University of California does after their nine months stay in the Universidad Compultense is that Spanish, besides being used at home, serves to speak about politics, demography, and sociology in public spaces. And they decide not to feel shamed anymore when speaking Spanish with friends in *Islos*; that is to say, in the district of East Los Angeles.

Diglossia without Bilingualism

The linguistic policy of the U.S., with respect to the immigrants, has been openly assimilationist. The persistence of any other language by any group of immigrants on North American ground is considered as a characteristic of anti-Americanism. President Theodore Roosevelt said it loud and clear: "Here there is only room for one language, and that language is English." Today, it is possible to say that such politics of assimilation have fulfilled its objectives, and the world agrees that the linguistic change to English is a process that lasts three generations: the first generation immigrants learn as much English as they can, which is actually very little, and it resorts to its

maternal language for domestic functions; the second generation continues to speak the maternal language at home, but uses English in public spaces like school and work; the third generation loses control of the maternal language, while the English language is not only used in public spaces, but also at home and for domestic use. With this said, it is possible to say that the U.S. is a cemetery of foreign languages, since rarely any of the maternal languages carried by immigrant groups remain beyond the third generation.

With some clarifications, this scheme is applied to the Hispanics in the U.S. With regards to the first generation of immigrants, it is to say that they fulfill the requirements of a situation identified by Fishman: diglossia without bilingualism. With the situation of diglossia being previously explained, we are going to try to explain why that first generation does not acquire English as a second language in a level that can be characterized as bilingual. In this segment of Hispanic population occurs, in the first place, what is known as functional restriction of the English language. According to Smith's terminology (1972), the functions of the language can be that of communication, integration, and of symbolic and identification expression. So that the function of communication between immigrant groups and the members of the welcoming society are fulfilled, there are some lexical, morphologic, and syntactic minimum requirements. Even in the case of a vague phonology, a scarce lexicon, a morphology that does not respect regimes, agreements, or norms of prefixes or suffixes, the function of communication could occur between both interlocutors. This is not the case of the integration function. For a language to work as a social marker of an affiliation or group property, the phonological, lexicons, morphologic requirements must be observed strictly.

The Hispanic group of first generation, like all immigrant groups, has a project of improving their life, but not of integrating to the host country once and for all. This is a differential characteristic with respect to other immigrant groups coming from Europe in the first half of the 20th century. When the Polish traveled as immigrants to America, they made a trip without return, burned their ships, and decided to construct a new life. For many reasons, Hispanics, especially the Mexican group, which is the most numerous, do not come to the U.S. with the aim of immediately integrating themselves to the American way of life. This means that their

relation to English as a second language is solely with the object of communication and not of integration. But as it was said before, to communicate in a routinely working surrounding there is no need of a precise control of the language. Certain rudiments are enough. This explains the phenomenon of linguistic fossils, according to Selinker's terminology (1972). It is observed in immigrant groups, and in first generation Hispanics, that the acquisition of English as a second language does not progress with the years of permanence. It is stagnant and fossilized, due to that restriction of the English language to the simple functions of communication, a function that does not demand a phonetic precision, the morphologic redundancies, and the lexical property; all requisites that do not add anything to the basic contents of communication, but that are indispensable so that the speaker is identified like a member of a group. In the background of this explanation are the well-known hypotheses of *pichinización andcreolización* exposed by Keith Whinnom (1990).

Finally, it should be said that this lack of integrating motivation is not always the responsibility of the immigrant group. The process of linguistic assimilation is a double standard. Immigrants not only depend on the motivation of the group, but also of the policy of integration of the receiving society. Even in case this policy is of determined assimilation, as is the case of the U.S., if the occupational expectations of the first generation Hispanics do not go beyond the inferior layers of the occupational scale, the reasonable reaction of the Hispanic immigrant is of not trying to improve their English, since the expectations of applying it are little. This brings about a vicious circle in which it is difficult to determine if the lack of labor promotion is linked to the lack of linguistic competition, or if there is no linguistic competition due to the lack of labor opportunities. A situation that sometimes appears among first generation immigrant groups is known as semibilingualism. First generation Hispanic immigrants evoke it when they affirm, "We are forgetting the Spanish language, and we have not yet learned English."

On the other hand, the model of social distance proposed by Schumann (1976a) explains the precarious acquisition of the English language on behalf of the first generation Hispanics in a more

comprehensive way. Schumann constructed his model of social distance based on a series of variables like the degree of congruency of the cultures of the immigrant group and the receiving society, the greater or smaller proximity between both languages in contact, the project of permanence, the regime of establishment, and the level of associationism of the immigrant group. The measurement of these variables in social range scales predicts the greater or smaller probability that one immigrant group is going to acquire the second language. In the studies made among first generation Hispanic groups in last the three decades of the 20th century, the values of social distance of Hispanics, with relation to the North American society, was higher than the average, which suggests that the ample segments of the first generation Hispanic groups have never reached a sufficient control of English as a second language. Some informants express this situation in a taciturn way: "If the Anglos do not learn Spanish, why should I have to learn English?" And it is true that the Hispanic bubble of Los Angeles is of such magnitude (four million Hispanics) that one can take care of all their necessities without the need of learning the English language.

Assimilation of the Second Generation

In spite of the alerts shot by the North American Natives movement, *Official English/English, Only* in relation to the presumed resistance of the Hispanic groups to assimilate themselves to the language of the welcoming society, it is necessary to clear that guidelines of assimilation of the English language on behalf of the second generation Hispanics are basically similar to those of any other immigrant group. Fishman (1992) gives proof of this when he affirms that, with the exception of certain isolated demographically insignificant groups, all the ethno-linguistic minorities in the U.S. loses their language of origin almost completely in the second or third generation, once they are settled in the urban North America. In that moment, they not only become habitual English speakers, but in exclusive English speakers. And Hispanics are not an exception to this iron law of the acquisition of the English language (p. 168).

The only exception to this iron law, as Fishman states, is that something else remains among the Hispanics, a generation to the maximum, due to the migratory flow of monolingual Hispanic immigrants in the Latin areas of

North American cities. As a result of this constant flow, the concentration of Spanish speakers continues being high, and thus the retention of the Spanish language beyond the second generation that marks the iron law results as an economic value strategy between the inhabitants of the Latin areas. Things are like this to such an extent that, sometimes, the paradox that second or third generation Hispanics that have not learned Spanish at home because their parents or brothers have already stopped speaking it learn it in the street in contact with new, just arrived immigrants.

This situation demonstrates that the processes of linguistic assimilation and bilingualism are not linear or irreversible, but that are subject to the swing of the extra-linguistic conditions, whether social or economic. Thus, for example, the defenders of *Official English/English Only* would have to be asked why second and third generation Hispanics, that habitually only speak English, continue living in the districts where their parents and grandparents lived and where there is a concentration of just arrived immigrants. But this is an insidious question that perhaps may lead people to conclude that the control of the English language is as ineffective with respect to the social mobility among Hispanics as with Blacks. More than 25% of the Hispanics live under the threshold of poverty, a percentage that is higher than that of Hispanics that do not speak English. Among the old immigrant groups coming from Europe, the acquisition of the English language and the corresponding loss of their culture of origin came often from a remarkable mobility in the social scale, which worked as the compensation for the painful experience of transculturation. Among the Hispanics, nevertheless, and some other immigrant groups of the two last decades of the 20th century, the first two elements of the equation have occurred: the acquisition of the English language and the loss of their culture, but for a great portion of them, the reward for compensating the social mobility has been an unattainable dream. This makes the postulates of the assimilationist radicals look ridiculous, as is the case of Richard Rodriguez:

Those in favor of bilingualism reject the value and necessity of assimilation... they do not realize that loss of the private individuality that the assimilation entails is compensated by the gain and acquisition of a public individuality... This is what has happened to me: until I was able to

think of myself as an "American" and not as a foreigner in a foreign society, I was able to look for the rights and opportunities necessary to develop my public individuality. The social and political advantages which I enjoy as a citizen began the day in which I began to think that my name was not Richard Rodriguez, but Rich-heard Road-ree-guess... I celebrate the day that I acquired my new name... it was the day I raised my hand in class and with a loud voice and signs I addressed (in English) to full class of faces that watched me expectantly. (1982, p. 27-28)

Here is the story of the assimilation experienced by Mr. *Road-ree-guess*. Like him, numerous second generation Hispanic students have shared identical scholastic experience without any kind of guarantee, at least for a great portion of them, that this process of linguistic assimilation guarantees a social ascent. In the last decade, multiple studies have been carried out on linguistic assimilation of second generation immigrants in the school scope. I limit myself to mention one of the pioneering studies by Alexander Portes and Lingxin Hao (2001) on the linguistic assimilation and loss of maternal languages between second generation American students. The survey is of 1992-93 and it was applied to 5,266 students in the eighth and ninth grade, between 12 and 16-years-old, in schools in Miami-Fort Lauderdale and San Diego; two metropolitan areas that attract a strong contingent of immigration. Miami is the front door for the Caribbean and South Americans students, while San Diego is the destination of Mexican immigrants (80% of the Hispanic immigrants) and Asians. Altogether, this consisted of 42 schools in both metropolitan areas, with 77 nationalities, and a concentration of children of immigrants from the Caribbean and Center and South America in schools in Florida, and students of Mexican or Asian origin in schools of San Diego. The general results once again confirm the iron law formulated by Fishman. The knowledge of the English language was practically universal among the present children of immigrants and their degree of competence was corresponding with their scholastic level. Besides, the preference of the English language was dominant, since two thirds of the young people of the sample chose it over the language of their parents. Consequently, the linguistic loyalty of the students of all the origins had changed to English, with exception of those of Mexican origin, of which only 45% preferred English. The preference or linguistic loyalty to the English language was overwhelming among

students of Colombian, Cuban, and Nicaraguan descent. This fast transition to the English language was accompanied by the loss of competence of the foreign language: most of the students could not speak their parent's language; only 16% used it with fluidity. However, most of the those that participated in the studies of Latin descent, as opposed to Asians, conserved a certain dominion of Spanish, those that declared a limited preference for English in the case of the Mexicans, just like those that declared a dominant preference like the Cubans.

The general conclusion of the study, according to Portes and Hao, is that there are no grounds for alarm of linguistic fragmentation in the U.S., as denounced by the nativist North Americans of *U.S. English*. On the contrary, what is in danger is the preservation of a certain dominion of the original languages. And, finally, that the process of adaptation of the second generation will follow the guidelines of the old scheme of the assimilationist iron law: the children will slowly abandon the language and identities of their parents, they will embrace the American culture, and will obtain a place in the economic and social scopes of the new society.

Nevertheless, this rectilinear version of assimilation is in need of important corrections. Alexander Portes (2004) handled the concept of *segmented assimilation* in order to describe an assimilationist process that is opened to different alternatives and that, in any case, is not an unquestionable safe-conduct for ascending social mobility and the social acceptance. According to this scheme, there is a reduced segment of the second generation, Hispanic immigrant population that will easily journey toward North American middle-class positions, thanks to the human capital and material resources of their parents. For this group, their ethnicity and maternal language are optional characteristics that will only show when necessary. They maintain a certain linguistic loyalty to the Spanish language, although lacking any militant attitude. There is another segment, also demographically reduced, that will climb positions in the social scale in spite of their poverty, thanks to the common networks of their ethnic community. For these people, their ethnicity is a distinguishing characteristic of their identity and will conserve a good level of linguistic loyalty to their maternal language. The third segment, the most numerous, is the one that follows the integration's normal route. They do not have

economic facilities, or a special human capital; they are not involved in the political action, labor unions, or citizenship actions that will act as a trampoline for social ascent. They have sufficient competence in English, a rudimentary professional preparation, and their process of integration, although laborious, is sufficiently positive as to maintain their faith in the American dream. And, finally, is the fourth segment that has not managed to cross the limits of the neighborhood and that, in spite of their linguistic competence in English, has not found the opportunities of social promotion. They are on the edge of the knife; on one side, the dream of the American way of life, on the other is the sub-world of gangs, drugs, bad conduct, youth pregnancies, and premature death. For this last segment, ethnicity is not an option or a positive sign of identity, but a stigma of subordination. They have lost their Spanish language and their competence in English suffers through the process of regression in the presence of social failure. Many take refuge in the slang known as Spanglish, even though this hybrid is not an exclusive language of this social segment. Between the monolingual and bilingualism assimilation, Spanglish appears as a hypothetical alternative in future scenario of the Spanish language.

Spanglish, that Crazy Slang

In the scenarios drawn out by the sociolinguists about the future of the Spanish language in the U.S., Spanglish, that resulting mixture of the contact of English and Spanish, is an alternative to consider. Ilan Stavans (2003), in his work *Spanglish* that is subtitled, "The Formation of a New American Language," told that on a certain occasion, he was approached by a Spanish journalist: "Will Spanglish someday replace the Spanish language?" Stavans avoided the answer, but the question, apparently outlandish, is perfectly reasonable from the historical-genetic perspective of languages. A thousand years ago, the same question with the same touch of extravagance could have been asked in the Iberian Peninsula: Do you think the vulgar dialect of the Castilian Barbarians could substitute the cultured dialect? Ramon Menendez Pidal (1965) inidcated that in the Leonine court of the 10th century, courtiers, completely cultured in their dialectal speech, watched with absolute scorn the linguistic uses of Castilians, who they thought of as Barbarian personages for their rough dialectal variety plagued with vulgar neologisms. Menendez Pidal imagines the Castilian Count

Fernan Gonzalez telling the Leonine count of Saldaña: "Cras tendré la mía carrera pora Castilla" (tomorrow I will leave for Castile). This sounded like barbarianism not fitted to the norms of good speaking according to the court advisors. First, *I will have* instead of *I would have*; then that of race, as it is only said by the common people in Leon, instead of saying *illa carraria*, as it is taught in grammar (Leonine!), or at least, *ela carreira*, according to how our parents taught us. And how badly does *Castile* or *opening* sound, when it should be correctly said as *Castiella* and *portiello*. Then, Don Ramon finished, when the Valiant Cid completed the supremacy of Castile, the characteristics of their Barbarian dialectal speech began to prevail as a norm of good speaking, relegating to the Leonine speech to its condition of marginal dialect of West Spain.

Therefore, the future of Spanglish is not written. As Uriel Weinreich (1974) says, "the interferences caused by situations of contact between languages have produced new languages in some cases" (P. 220). Thus, the commercial slang, maybe with the exception of *Chinook Jargon* (language of the children of the Franc-Canadian travelers with the Indians of the Oregon territory), rarely became maternal languages of a group, whereas the languages of the Creoles and pidgins deserve to be considered as new languages. And continuing with the subject at matter, Weinreich himself thinks that the speech forms arise from the contact of languages with the English language, like the English Hawaiian dialect or the Americanized Italian of the U.S.:

they do not seem to have reached the form stability or the amplitude of functions, nor the distance necessary with respect to the base language, nor have they created differentiating subjective attitudes that are sufficiently great to be called new languages in the authentic sense of the word (1974, p. 221).

Therefore, before answering the question if Spanglish will replace the Spanish language someday, we would first have to determine if Spanglish, as a risen form of speech of the interferences of the contact between Spanish and English, has the status of a language. The first requirement that Spanglish must fulfill is to show that its lexicon, morphology, and syntax has a degree of sufficient differentiation with

respect to the two languages of which it comes from in order to be classified as a new language. This exclusively linguistic determinant demands a rigorous and comparative analysis of structure of the languages at issue. With all cautions taken, at this moment, we suspect that Spanglish does not fulfill the requirement of differentiation. The second requirement that Spanglish must fulfill is the stability of its linguistic forms, phonetic, lexical, and morfo-syntactical. It is about analyzing to what extent the guidelines of interference between English and Spanish become habitual and fix into the conscience of the Spanglish speaker because, among others things, of the ineffectiveness of the linguistic controls that tend to eliminate these interferences. Many of the present languages, according to Murat Roberts, mentioned by Weinreich (1974), in circumstances of "little prestige" on behalf of the original languages, have crystallized what prevented them to exert the norm function and to practice, consequently, the linguistic control of the interferences and deviations. I do not believe this is the case of Spanish or English, the two modern languages of communication that watch over the tolerable levels of standardization through diverse mechanisms, conciliating that of the "minimum variation in the form with the maximum variation in the function." On the other hand, Spanish speakers, as much as English speakers, have a high degree of linguistic conscience and loyalty to their own language; unless they are independently purist, conservatives, or innovators, they do not hide their surprise before the provoking forms of Spanglish. Forms that do not present the minimum stability required by a language become divergent and unpredictable when they cross national or social class barriers.

The third requirement is the amplitude of functions. There is a generalized agreement among sociolinguists that the basic function that a hybrid and interfered language like Spanglish must reach to become a true language. It has been said that commercial languages rarely become maternal languages; not the Creoles whose morphologic and syntactic structure are characterized for being the maternal language of the group. The extension of functions of a hybrid language can be the result of an administrative decision, as is the case of the Papiamento of Curazao or the Creole of Haiti which, by political decision, covers the fields of education, religion, and literature in speech and writing. But it is clear that today this is not the case of Spanglish that, with a lacking of administrative and political

support, it is limited to be an intra-ethnic slang of the emphatic communication within an ethnic group. Of course, the functional expansion reinforces the stability of the linguistic forms as much as the feeling of loyalty toward the language interfered as a language different from any other. And, finally, there is the requirement of the classification of the speakers, which is nothing but the emergency of a conscience linguistic and a feeling of fidelity to the new language. Both things depend on socio-cultural factors like the vindication of the hybrid language in the list of ethnic offenses and geographic factors; like the great physical distance of a group in relation to the monolingual surroundings of where one of the two languages come from. Both factors are absent in the case of Spanglish. Within the Chicano movement, one of ethnic vindications has been the Spanish language, of course, the Spanish of the U.S., but not Spanglish. On the other hand, the physical distance of the *espanglishized* in relation to Mexico or Cuba or Puerto Rico is not relevant, especially if that distance is computed based on the time spent to cross it. All it means is that Mexico, like Cuba and Puerto Rico, are an inevitable linguistic referent that reinforces loyalty toward Spanish and inhibits the feeling of fidelity toward Spanglish.

The process of formation of the Spanglish as a new American language is in a virtual phase where the potentialities are more than the facts. Meanwhile, Spanglish is an internal language that works with the object of transmitting empathy and solidarity between certain segments of an ethnic group. What is more worrisome is that Spanglish was a transitional phase in the process of acquisition of the English language. A transitional phase that does not go anywhere because it is a phase of stagnation and fossilization of the languages, as it was said in the epigraph *Diglossia without Bilingualism*(2003), in the introduction of its Spanglish orbit, recognizes that the North American assimilationists, as well as the Latin conservationists, ruthlessly criticize a slang that is not but the result of stagnation of the Latinos in the process of learning the English language. For the first group there would be a resulting chaos of failed bilingual education and dangerous multicultural programs that celebrate the mestizo as ulitimate. For the seconds group, it would be a trap and a shame that, while other immigrant groups have been able to integrate themselves to the American way of life, Hispanics have shown an obstinate resistance to

follow the same path. Stavans (2003) agreed that everybody correctly speaks Spanish, English, and Spanglish, since his espanglishized children speak all three languages. Spanglish, as a free option, as an intellectual curiosity to practice the "constructive analysis," as Stavans said, or as a simple form to earning a living, is good. But Spanglish as a destiny is a mouse trap, in which an important sector of the Hispanic population is caught. Stavans knew that although the control of the English language is not a sufficient condition for the social ascent in the U.S.; nevertheless, it continues being a necessary condition because without it, nobody grants an individual the opportunity for a job interview.

The most colorful aspect about Stavans is the self-assurance and anger whereupon he whips the critics against the crazy slang spilled from the Spanish side; that is to say, the Iberian Peninsula, like Stavans repeatedly calls Spain. This professor of Amherst College has the highest idea of what Spanglish is: "an attractive mixture, that it announces the birth of a new Hispanic;" that is to say, one more manifestation of the cosmic and racially mixed race of Vasconcelos, superior to the Latin and Anglo-Saxon civilizations. And it is that the crazy slang of Spanglish is not but the result of a clash of languages, of civilizations, the Spanish and the Anglo-Saxon, as it could not be otherwise. For that reason, the din of Lepanto resonates in the sounds of Spanglish, the breaks of the Invincible Army, the outbreak of Maine as a prelude of the Hispanic-North American war where Spain was humiliated by a British colony, and even the howls of the monkeys of Gibraltar that always will be British, forever says the professor, to the desperation of the Spaniards. The sounds of Spanglish represent a liberating catharsis of Spanish imperialism, the tyranny of the Spanish language and of the Real Academy of the Language (Real Academia de la Lengua) in Madrid, reincarnation linguistic of the Inquisition, whose executing arm in the U.S. is the North American Academy of the Language. Professor Stavans said that Spanish has been the imperial instrument of domination and proselytism, without forgetting that the evangelization of America was conducted in the Amerindian languages and not in Spanish as indicted by others, including the historian, Ricard, in the Spiritual Conquest of Mexico, who indicated that Spanish was never the official language of the Colony's territories, although it was insistently requested by the colonizers of Felipe II in the XVII Century and the Archbishop Lorenzana of Mexico to Carlos

IV when they only lacked a few years for their independence, that the language of communication in a great part of the New Spain was the Nahuatl, the language of the Aztec confederation, and who finally imposed Spanish as the official language were the Heroes of Independence in different Latin American republics. Stavans said that in The Iberian Peninsula, which is Spain, the expansion of Spanglish is a national obsession. Professor Stavans did not know Spain or the Iberian Peninsula well. The only obsession in Spain is terrorism, unemployment, and to see who wins the 2006 (at that time) soccer league, whether Madrid or Barça. Just as the professor said, no Chicano of the San Fernando Valley in Hollywood cares what the Real Academy of the Language is and what it does or about Spanish-- I mean the Spanish read in newspapers, which does not care if Spanglish grows or shrinks. As Professor Stavans knew, this is between friends, but it does not affect the destiny of the nation, as it is said in the speech of the Cuban Revolution. Stavans continued indicating that numbers of commentators who are Spaniards consider that Spanglish is a bad omen for Hispanics. If Mr. Stavans would have known these Spanish commentators, he would have not written such a thing. If the Spanish commentators did not care for Spain, why, then, would they be interested in the Hispanic civilization. But there is more. Not even the Spanish government obsessively cares about the Hispanic civilization. That federal money (there is no federal money in Spain) that Mr. Stavans said is invested by the Spanish government in promoting the civilization interests is peanuts if it is compared with the French centralist money inverted in promoting French culture and language.

Finally, Professor Stavans considered the attacks (mere opinions) against Spanglish and person, originating in the Iberian Peninsula, as manifestations of buried emotions. This is what is known as a vicarious experience. No one other than Mr. Stavans can put themselves in the shoes of the Spaniards. Finally, the closure against the Spanish resistance of some Spaniards to recognize the kindness of Spanglish is seen as comic sketch. The professor tells us that unfortunately the Hispanic civilization never has been able to understand the role of constructive analysis because, to study Spanglish, Stavans continued, would not mean to bet on its future by blocking Spanish; rather it is the the complete opposite which is to analyze it in detail which would be the best form of understanding where we come

from and who we are. Provisions were not needed for this trip. The issue is not about clarifying if Spanglish is a real language or not; rather, it is about whether Spanglish is an alternative to the future of bilingualism or not. It is simply about, as the professor says, playing the intellectual do-it-yourself game: a game in which the Hispanic civilization is lost. Until now, the Hispanic civilization had been attributed, for example, to not understanding free examination, but this of the constructive analysis is very new. In case it helps the professor in any way, I must tell him that my students in Madrid spend a whole year *constructing the object*, and I do not see that they are smarter than those who had been given the already constructed object. To know where we came from and who are, I do not believe Spanglish is the best way. And the professor, frustrated questioned the validity of syntax rules after all. Stavans concluded by saying that with the rate of the slang, perhaps a masterful piece that changes our way of understanding this world will be written. Perhaps, but at the moment, that masterful piece has been written for four hundred years, with the syntax of the Spanish language, while professor Stavans is limited to translate it to Spanglish.

Bilingualism or the Fracture of the Iron Law

It has been said that bilingualism without diglossia (this is a group that speaks two languages without rigorously establishing a functional duality of the languages), although it is a reality individually, sociologically it is an entelechy and the linguistic policies that aspire to that objective lead no where. Richard Rodriguez (1992), on his behalf, has written that the bilingual education and, therefore, its objective is a romantic trap of the 1960s in which the leaders of the Hispanic community absurdly aspired to remain with the best thing of the Spanish and the English language, the private and public, the field and the city, without realizing that it is impossible to be two at the same time. In this dilemma, Rodriguez says the public and the city always win for the simple reason that it is the city that pays.

Without a discussion, in this last epigraph, I suggest that the Hispanics in the U.S. are entering a critical period in which, due to a series of factors, the iron law of the linguistic assimilation can break, giving rise to the possibility that the acquisition of the English language does not mean the

inexorable loss of the Spanish language. This would invest the tendency of associating social and academic promotions with the progressive loss of the maternal language. Today, luckily, there are indications in short and medium terms that confirm the change of tendency, according to which the Spanish language would stop being associated with poverty and ignorance, and would begin to be perceived as a language compatible with the public life, as a means of work opportunities and economic income, and, mainly, as a source of self-esteem and cultural collective identity. In this point of inflexion, the attitudes of low linguistic self-esteem would yield to a more generalized attitude of loyalty toward the Spanish language. The following paragraphs mention some of the factors considered responsible for this break or inflection point that is aimed toward the establishment of a stable bilingualism without diglossia, to the maintenance of the Spanish language amongst Hispanics.

First is the demographic data. According to the data of the U.S. Census Office in the year 2000, the Hispanic population ascended to 35.2 million, which was equivalent to 12.5% of the American population, about 281 million people. The total number of Hispanics grew 60% in comparison with the census of 1990, and 25% compared with the 1970 census. With this data, the Hispanic population has become the "largest minority community of the nation," exceeding the African-Americans in number for the first time. In 2003, the Hispanic population reached 40 million people (44 million including the inhabitants of Puerto Rico), a number that surpasses the population of Colombia (almost 41 million) and that is equal to that of Spain. Among the Latin American countries at the present time, only México, with more than 100 million, has a greater population. In a scenario of continued immigration and moderate rate of natural growth, the Hispanic population will continue to grow until reaching 25% of the North American population in 2050, equaling 103 million people.

To understand the sociolinguistic meaning of this accelerated growth of Hispanics in the U.S., one has to reflect on the derived consequences of this simple numerical amount, on the composition by ages of the population pyramid, as well as on its geographic distribution in states and cities that are crucial in the electoral processes and in the economic and cultural march of the country. Thus, by the mere fact of being more than 40 million, the

Hispanic community becomes the second largest population of the Hispanic world after Mexico. This means that its degree of visibility in the American multiethnic mosaic increases considerably, and this greater presence reinforces the identifying characteristics of time that demands a greater recognition of the rest of the society.

The composition by ages of demographic structure of the Hispanics reflects a population pyramid typically youthful where the infant and adolescent groups have a remarkably superior percentage representation, not only to the adult groups, but those of the same age groups in the North American society in general and the Anglo-Saxon society individually. Inversely, the age group between 45 and 54 among Hispanics is remarkably inferior to the same age group of the total American population. If the different fertility and birth rates of the Hispanic community are added to this, including African-Americans, one must conclude that Hispanics are a group with a high growth potential and, therefore, an emergent group in scopes of the economy, politics, and culture. And although it is shown that second or third generation Hispanics demonstrate a preference for the English language, we conjectured that a series of sociological and political factors can be neutralizing that tendency.

But it is the geographic distribution of the Hispanic establishments along the U.S. that best characterizes this ethnic group as an emergent minority of growing visibility and crucial importance in the movement of electoral processes. Thus, the states with the largest percentage and absolute number of Hispanics are California (11 million), Texas (6 million), New York (3 million), Florida (2.5 million), and Illinois (1.5 million). If we consider that the mentioned states show the greatest political weight of the Union regarding the allocation of electoral votes, representing 31% of these votes, it is easy to conclude that the Hispanic vote, in spite of its little political participation to this day, can make a great difference in the balance of electoral confrontation, as it has in fact happened in the presidential elections of 2000 with a Republican victory in Florida with a Latin majority, as well as with Democrate victory in New Mexico, also with a Latin majority. It is certain that this political potential of Hispanics has not yet given all of its results in the first place because half of the Hispanic population is composed of "non-citizens;" secondly, because the Latin

naturalized immigrants vote less than Hispanics born in the U.S.; thirdly, because Hispanics are concentrated in non-disputed states like California and Texas, which means that their votes have little repercussion; and fourthly, due to the structure of the electoral process, the demography growth demands the creation of districts that allow the Latinos to obtain positions at local and state level, but do not contribute to a noticeable influence in the national elections. For that reason, as affirmed by Rodolfo O. De la Garza (2004), although the demographic growth has pushed the Latinos to the center of national politics, it does not bear a narrow relation with the political influence that the Hispanic community has at this moment.

Be what it may, the certain thing is that a greater presence of Hispanics in politics has supposed a jump, unimaginable a few years ago, of the Spanish language to the political area, whether in the Spanish reply of the New Mexican Governor Richardson to President Bush's speech to the State of the Union January 21, 2004, or with the bilingual debates in the primaries of national character as it happened on September 2003, or with the electoral publicity the Republican party printed in *Vista*, the Spanish magazine with the greatest diffusion in the nation. There is no doubt that this leap toward the first plane of a language that has always worked as an opaque rumor has contributed to improving the linguistic self-esteem of Hispanics and to reinforce their feeling of loyalty to the maternal language (Bred, 2004).

On the other hand, in spite of their agricultural occupations, especially in the enclave of the Mexican-Americans of the southwest, Hispanics reside preferably in cities with great vitality, like global cities where there is a large percentage of world-wide commerce, especially that oriented to Latin America. Thus, 6 million Hispanics reside in the metropolitan area of Los Angeles, representing 34% of that metropolitan population; 3 million in the area of New York, representing 15%; 1.5 million in the Miami and Lauderdale area, representing 34%; 1 million in San Francisco Bay, including Silicone Valley, representing 16%; another million in the Chicago area, representing 11%; and another million in Houston, representing 21% of its urban population. In this urban globalized world, the presence of Spanish in the work market is more and more essential as time goes by.

Global cities like New York, Los Angeles, and Miami, recognized as the commercial capital of Latin America, cities with a great control of the financial and commercial traffic, obligatorily require the presence of the Spanish language, which makes this language a "plus" of labor opportunities for Spanish-speakers that have managed to maintain their maternal language. This eliminates the old paradox saying Hispanic adults must spend long hours of their life trying to acquire a language they lost as a child because of a rigorous monolingual policy that imposed speaking only English. This added value to the Spanish language in the labor world is confirmed by the results of a survey of Center For Labor Research & Studies in April 2004, directed toward Cubans and Cuban-Americans of South Florida, where 70% of the interviewees and the majority of those born in the U.S. consider that speaking Spanish is helpful to find a job (Bred, 2004, p. 90). One more proof that the Spanish language, besides having a strong identity value, is a strong utilitarian component instrumental in the human and social capital of Hispanics.

There is a phenomenon between Hispanics of the U.S. that, without a doubt, will have a positive impact in the maintenance of Spanish of the second and third generations. I refer to the creation of authentic transnational communities through the flow of remittances, information, and contacts on behalf of the respective diasporas of Latin immigrants. As affirmed by Alexander Portes (2004, p. 10), nowadays, the remittances of the Latin immigrants fully exceed the foreign aid received by the country, competes in size with the extreme total of direct foreign investments, and some exceed the total income obtained from exports. In countries like Mexico, Guatemala, and El Salvador, the immigrants' remittances are among the three main sources of currency, becoming thus fundamentally integral to the national economy. But the volume of the remittances is not only enormous, but regular and stable throughout time, which allows international banks to use the future remittances as a collateral guarantee at the time of granting loans to banks of the origin countries. That is how the modest wage-earning work of immigrants hits the world-wide economy through the activation of the five T's of economic integration: tourism, telecommunications, transport (aerial), transference of remittances, and trade commerce denominated nostalgic. A pursuit of these five axes, as Manuel Orozco

(2004) did, would discover the complexity that the impact of these remittances have in the economies of the origin countries.

But these transnational communities are not only an economic reality but also a political reality. The political parties of Mexico, Dominican Republic, and Colombia have offices in Los Angeles, Miami, and New York from which they present their electoral candidates, gather funds for the campaigns, and obtain votes that can be decisive in the electoral fights. At the same time, this intense bidirectional traffic of information, goods, and people deeply influence the origin nations. The birth among the organized diasporas of associations with the place of origin, known as HTA (*Hometown Associations*), has a more than considerable volume in the diverse enclaves of Hispanics in the U.S. Its purpose is other than to conserve the cultural bonds and to improve situations in the communities of the origin countries. This way, it is confirmed once again that the Latin migratory experience has differentiating characteristics from that of European immigrant groups. This continuous bond with the origin country will contribute, without a doubt, reinforcing linguistic loyalty with the Spanish language and, therefore, to its maintenance.

The massive presence of Hispanics in the urban world has shot a proliferation of communication medias that use Spanish to communicate with their audience. Only the *National Association of Hispanic Publications* includes 180 publications that spread 10 million newspaper units and magazines, most of them written in Spanish. If we were to add the 600 radio transmitters, plus 100 TV transmitters with regular programs in Spanish, we can have an idea of the formidable presence of the Hispanic in the media. And it is that 40 million Hispanics, with an annual spending power of nearly 700 billion dollars, constitute a very tempting market for the commercial publicity, which has turned to commercial bilingualism as a marketing strategy. According to Arnulfo Ramirez (1992), many medias in English turn to expressions in Spanish to sell more among Hispanics. On the other hand, the Spanish media turn to English to attract those second or third generation Hispanics whose Spanish begins to weaken, which confirms the advertising slogan, "It's a whole nuevo mundo out there." The dollar has discovered the Hispanic market, and money, as already known, speaks all languages. And it is that, according to some market

investigations, the commercial publicity in Spanish has turned out to be more effective among the Hispanic population than that in English. The advertisements in Spanish are more persuasive; that is to say, they more effectively urge a purchase and remain a longer time in the receiver's memory than advertisements in English. This practice of commercial bilingualism and the publicity's preference of the Spanish language demonstrate that that new world out there is a world where Spanish refuses to disappear, and the number of bilinguals continues to increase.

On the other hand, there are the cognitive advantages of bilingualism. The times in which psycholinguistic maintained a negative association among bilingualism and cognitive development, to the point of attributing bilingualism the responsibility of the mental setback of immigrant's children, were left behind. Luckily, recent studies have demonstrated the opposite; that is to say, a positive association among bilingualism, academic results, and cognitive flexibility. This last advantage goes along with this, since bilingual persons by definition counts with more than one way of naming the same thing, which frees them of the tyranny of words, and allows them to look at the language and not through the language as is expressed by monolingual persons.

And, finally, the rewards of the symbolic capital are derived from the maintenances of Spanish as the maternal language. It is true that belonging to a speaking community is not the same as feeling like part of a family, a government, or a religion. However, the feeling of belonging to a community of speakers has something of the three things. In this sense, the symbolic role of the language has nothing to do with the functions of communication, persuasion, or thought. This function of integration and reinforcement of self-esteem and identity of the people is probably the first and last reason which so many languages refuse to die. Labov tells the case of a boy in a public school in New York that resisted any attempt of linguistic assimilation within the English standard. Labov attributed this resistance to the deep loyalty that the boy professed to *Black English*, the language of his gang in the corner of the district. Arnulfo Ramirez (1992) presents the testimony, a bit more dramatic, of a young Texan student:

Cuando nosotros hablamos en chicano, tenemos más feeling que hablar en el standard, porque nosotros asina nos criamos, con esa lengua que inventamos, y asina sufrimos y asina lloramos y asina jugamos, y por eso esa lengua, you know, it's our feeling (p. 79).

A stirring testimony that reminds us of the linguistic conflict of those second or third generation young Hispanics that form that segment of population between standard English and standard Spanish who have chosen a third rout, that of slang. Perhaps there does not have to be a conflict of linguistic loyalties. Perhaps a variety of a local dialect can coexist with a standardized language. But it is certain that, according to the prospective demographic, The Texan boy by 2020 is going to live in a Hispanic community of 50 million, and that only if he is able in his daily routine to change from Tex-Mex to the standardized Spanish of the U.S. will he be able to play an excellent role in the country where he lives, as well as in the set of the nations that speak Spanish.

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Chapter 9 Education of Immigration Students in the Community of Madrid Advancements in knowledge and technology, as well as facility of global communication and movement characterize modern society in developed countries. In a globalized culture, very different people (in ideas, religions, ethnic groups, customs, cultures, etc.) must coexist with each other (actual or virtually) in the same space or use a technological route to communicate. All of this takes place so quickly that some do not sufficiently adapt to newly created situations. Movements to preserve traditions, customs, and local culture arise in the face of this exhausting globalization, in order to avoid sinking into a homogenous whole. With these expansive movements, we are walking reductively toward "glocales" cultures, according to the term and concept coined by Ulrich Beck (1998, p. 80).

Education of Immigrant Students in the Community of Madrid

Ma Antonia Casanova

Advancements in knowledge and technology, as well as facility of global communication and movement characterize modern society in developed countries. In a globalized culture, very different people (in ideas, religions, ethnic groups, customs, cultures, etc.) must coexist with each other (actual or virtually) in the same space or use a technological route to communicate. All of this takes place so quickly that some do not sufficiently adapt to newly created situations. Movements to preserve traditions, customs, and

local culture arise in the face of this exhausting globalization, in order to avoid sinking into a homogenous whole. With these expansive movements, we are walking reductively toward "glocales" cultures, according to the term and concept coined by Ulrich Beck (1998, p. 80).

Population movements constitute for some astonishing situations in the history of humanity due to the rapidity with which they take place. Migration, individually or collectively, forms part of society. In order to distinguish this phenomenon from the individual processes of change, migratory movements to the displacements of population from a more or less distant region to another, or from one country to another, are usually denominated. In general, it alludes to changes that will maintain temporal continuity and never to conjunctural transfers. The European continent has been an historical scene of numerous of types of these movements. Indeed, each European town or nation has surely inherited, or been the result of a great migration, whether pacific or warlike. Spain and its population in particular, are the consequence of multiple progressive invasions of different nations throughout its history, as it is easily observed with a superficial glance of its geography. Multiple previous cultures compose the architectonic rest of Spain and their "culture" (literature, customs, religion, gastronomy, vocabulary, numeration, etc.). It is reasonable and correct to refer to cultures as that of each and every one of us that form part of that nation.

Moving on to other examples, the growth of the colonial empires of Portugal and Spain during the 15th through the 17th centuries constitutes a landmark in the conformation of the American population. In the 17th and 18th centuries, the Dutch and British extended their navigation, with ships reaching remote zones of the East. In the 19th century, the industrial revolution entailed great changes in the population of the planet because new industrialization mechanisms penetrated and modified their particular societies. One of the most significant changes was the total increase of the population. In 1750, the total world-wide population amounted to about 800 million people, and a century later it reached 1.3 billion. Concretely, Europe went from 145 million in 1750 to 400 million in 1900. Pushed by this internal demographic pressure and with the advantage of technological superiority, Europeans were scattered throughout the globe, pacifically or

by means of conquests. According to the UN, the great European exodus has been the most important migratory movement of the modern age, and perhaps the greatest one of humanity's history.

The large extent of Europe's migratory history comes as a surprise to many, who rather see it as a stable place. Migratory flows will remain, however, due to the accessibility of the knowledge of where the better labor and political condition exist thanks to global communication and transportation technology. Any person of any country can detect in what place they are offered better, more vital conditions and implement the mechanisms for their transfer. For example, most of the arrived foreigners to Madrid in the last years come from Ecuador, not from some bordering country or near Spain.

The community of Madrid evidently faces coexistence challenges due to a population that comes from different countries with people of different capacities and talents, along with the habitual differences between all human beings. This society of "differents" forces us to learn to respect that difference and to look for its enriching aspects. The following data refers to Madrid: In the beginning of the 2004/2005 school year, 93,500 students of other countries have been educated as opposed to the 25,000 from 1999-2000. Schools in Madrid manage more than 55 different languages belonging to more than one hundred-twenty nationalities.

The following progression in Figure 1 shows a sample of this fast evolution, relative to the annual education of pupils coming from other countries to Madrid.

Year	Pupils
1995	10.469
1996	11.108

1999	25.049
2000	36.087
2001	49.657
2002	65.667
2003	84.513
2004	93.386

Figure 1. Evolution relative to annual education of pupils from other countries coming to Madrid.

Source: General Directive of Educative Promotion. Council of Education. Madrid.

Nearly 15,000 students present special educative necessities derived from some type of handicap, and of those students, 1.5-2% pose high capacities. The set of this population forces our system to respond to the challenge that these children's diversity creates so that they can all obtain the proposed objectives. All students can develop their capacities and turn them into competitive tools, but success depends upon the functionality of the system's general structure and operation, as well as the support of all the teaching staff most of all. We should not forget the absolute necessity of the cooperation of the family, society, and, in particular, the mass media, if we want to offer a coherent educative guideline to the children and young people in their formative stage. Education is everyone's task, and if some facet fails, it will be difficult to reach the demanding goals that society itself raises and demands on the schools.

Initial Expositions

The scholastic center develops the educative facts for the nation. As it is daily shown, the present society is enormously varied, thus, what before

was considered "normal" now has become "diverse." Diversity is the norm, not an exceptional situation. This we know well in the community of Madrid, where cultural pluralism is an easily verifiable fact.

If a scholastic center must respond to the educative and social exigencies, it seems evident that it would have to have a margin of governmental autonomy, a curricular design and organization that allows it to adapt its performance in a suitable form to the necessities of the customized education. This way, institutional education will be able to take care of its diverse population while striving to reach the educative quality that society rigorously demands. A center and a classroom structured for homogenous groups (false by principle: we are not all equal, we are all different) will never respond to the characteristics of every student since it will be aimed to a "standard student" that does not exist, and will leave aside all those that do not adjust to this pretended average term. Because diversity if the norm, every realistic educative exposition should start there. This reasoning is especially valid and unreservedly necessary to assume when refering to the stages of obligatory education, which assumes that education guarantees character adjustments in each student, making it an adequate offer for the student's development. People are different; consequently, the educative system must be sufficiently flexible as to comply with individual particularities, considering everyone at the time of designing the agreed model. The system should adapt to the student and not inverse: this would guarantee quality formation.

Maintaining the mentioned expectations forces a satisfactory coexistence level within the society. Implementation of the scholarly model most fit is of utmost importance, since the consequent social climate will be derived from this selected model because of the induced principles it generates in the first stages of education. If society desires to integrate, education will have to be the means through which that is done. It is necessary to obtain a school for all, maintaining an enriching level of difference. Consequently, the subsequent educative necessities of these differences can be more or less demanding for the following reasons: differences of cognitive styles, rhythms of learning, motivations or interests; special educative necessities for the gifted and talented, handicapped, or those with disorders (motor, sensorial, psychic, others). Furthermore, compensation must be rendered to

ethnic or cultural minorities forced to the social margin or underprivileged atmospheres.

The Attention to Diversity in the Educative System: The Intercultural Education

Of particular use to those who are not specialists in education is the following catalogue, which provides the guidelines which govern the educative system at the moment. These guidelines allow hope that interculturalism and diversity will continue in our schools.

The curricular design from the educative administrations and the teaching institutions can and must:

1. Adapt the general missions to the particular developmental stage, sequencing them by cycles and courses,

2. Adapt the content blocks, sequencing them by cycles and courses,

3. Provide methodological options for the different stages and curricular areas,

4. Decide the evaluation model of the processes of education and learning, and how that institutional evaluation that will be carried out,

5. Define an organizational model for centers practicing designed curricular projects.

In virtue of the curricular autonomy that each center has assigned, it is possible to educate while including interculturalism as a cross-sectional factor in all the curricular elements, whose application must be facilitated by the organizational model that is established for that center. Both decisions –curricular and organizational– will have to be coherent to be viable.

Curriculum Elements

I want to focus upon, and synthesize each one of the curricular elements. I will elaborate, mainly, on the two I consider most fundamental: the methodology and evaluation, with special reference to its role in education.

Objectives and Contents

The adjustment and sequencing of general objectives regarding stages of development and content areas favor regulation of the learning process by setting stage specific goals. Learning centers may not eliminate any basic objective expressed in the catalogue, but they may flexibly modify it, making the adaptation and coherent sequence of objectives possible. Based on goal objectives, suitable contents will be selected. These objectives and contents strive to allow individual development of each student according to their personal characteristics, thereby offering them the best educative attention possible. Objectives of intercultural character must also be devised, otherwise that expected intercultural education will remain as a declaration of good intentions without practical results. The determination of objectives and the selection of contents condition the teaching staff's curricular development.

Methodological Strategies

When referring to methodology, the center must consider all options since it is not obligatory to follow a particular methodological model. The only criterion for the model is that it must harmonize with the expected objectives and contents that are being worked.

Methodological change becomes essential when there is a specific reason for that call for change. For example, student participation is on the increase, according to many professors. This makes a varied methodology in which the professor's expertise is combined with the individual activity and teamwork of the student ideal, as is the use of varied resources or didactic materials which consider different learning styles, rates, levels, capacities, different cultures, and social situations. By using varied methodological styles and materials, curricular modifications can be facilitated. Our main principle must be to regard differences, of all types, as

enriching for all. We must use diversity as our basis to the varied methods applied in classrooms.

It should not be forgotten that the student learns through what he or she does more than what he or she is told. What is done in the classroom is marked by the selected methodological model. Based on this principle, I want to indicate that many of the general missions now set out in the curriculum demand a combined methodology, active and respectful of those differences, knowing that they will not be reached otherwise. To participate is learned by participating, to value is learned by valuing, to respect is learned by respecting. It is not a matter of studying, but daily applying this in the classroom. Methodology also becomes a content of learning because it is learned by doing, and the way to arrive at the objectives constitutes the methodological strategies that are adopted. We have to employ easier, more complex, or different activities, judging case by case.

Evaluation

Testing constitutes the factor of conditioning factors more than any of the other educative practices. Students cram for end-term exams that only award memorization and a valuation based on a precise test that demonstrates what is known, even though it will be forgotten the following day. Whatever has been memorized is forgotten during vacation periods. This model tends to homogenize as it teaches and tests them uniformly, applying the same test to all without differentiating its initial potentialities. It does not attend to those who do not pass the standard testing, nor let those who have surpassed the test move on. In this way, non-stereotypical pupils in the established model are marginalized from the system (first educative then social), causing serious repercussions on their lives.

It is time we stop using evaluation only to verify, and to begin to use it to improve (Stufflebeam & Shinkfield,1987). All scopes of performance must be improved; including, the learning processes, teaching methodology, school operation, administration, etc. A model of continuous and formative evaluation which attempts to evaluate processes and not only results must be incorporated from the beginning of the educative process and continuously offer data about learning development (Casanova, 1995). By using this model we are allowed to favor learning in a continued and

personalized way with each student, without limiting them to certain parameters. This makes it possible to actually accelerate the rate of education because this evaluative model does not force or restrict the advancement of a person by the establishment of a rigid and equal evaluation for all. If the model considers diversity, the evaluation should not be used as an informational element of people, but as a key for the diversification suitable for learning.

At the same time, it is necessary to plead for a descriptive evaluation, which expresses the student's achievements and difficulties it presents with words. This way, the students and their families know with clarity the aspects which stand out and the things that must be done for improvement. An abbreviation or a number does not say anything. Nobody knows, with those signs, what a student knows or does not know. It is necessary to be more explicit to favor the auto-evaluation of the pupils and its formative evaluation (the legal norms of our system do promote evaluation in this sense).

Organization: A Key Element for Curricular Development

It is now mandatory to briefly detail the organizational model of the centers. Schools must allow flexible curriculums instead of rigid organizational frames which prevent the practice of many theoretically well-planned curricular projects. As Brighouse and Woods (2001) say, "Adults of the XXI century taught by professionals of the XX century, in classrooms of the XVIII century" (p.121).

The ideal curricular and organizational cycle of education is structured until students are 14-years-old, and gives attention to diversity. There are a number of groups in the cycle, and pupils can be placed in the most suitable one. The student does not have to always be in the same group/class, nor should the set of students work on the same activities at the same time. The practice of these possibilities demands flexible organization of the school: suitable schedules to permit a change of students while maintaining discipline, and the creation of sub-groups of students within cycles to cater to their variations. In Obligatory Secondary Education, which operates at a higher level of difficulty, activities could be established quarterly. Two or

more professors could agree to unite the independent hours of one morning, allowing one or two sessions to turn into target activities.

Flexible organization within the classroom is also necessary. Not all of the students have to be doing the same thing at the same time, as mentioned before. There are methods that allow different levels of work within the anticipated programming of different teams of students based on their educative necessities.

Interculturality in the Community of Madrid

On January 19, 1999, the Agreement for Quality Improvement in the Educative System of the community of Madrid was signed on behalf of the Community Government and 18 other organizations of diverse types and ideologies. The agreement is equipped with 131,000,000,000 pesetas. Among the programs implemented so that improvement becomes a reality id the planned compensation for educative inequalities in education, for which 15,000,000,000 pesetas (90,150,000 €) are reserved for investment for the next five years. Therefore, 18,030,000 € are incorporated to the annual budget in an extraordinary form.

A Regional Plan was unanimously approved in the Assembly of Madrid in November 2000 after group meetings with signatory organizations and others involved in the Plan, remembering to structure the actions of the following five:

- Education

- Schools / centers maintained with public funds

- Complementary actions

- Development of intercultural education

- Interinstitutional collaboration and social participation

Certain levels of performance are expected in each of these sections, and each one of them marks ample objectives to dispatch concrete and valuable actions.

An example that affects this text completely; point 4, development of the intercultural education sets out the following objectives:

4.1 To integrate ethnic and cultural minorities in the educative system by devaluing normalization and instead respecting difference.

4.2 To develop formation and support for mothers and parents pertaining to ethnic and cultural minorities.

4.3 To develop complementary actions to support the integration of the gypsy pupils.

4.4 To develop complementary actions to support the integration of the immigrant pupils.

Altogether, the plan consisted of 17 objectives and of 69 actions.

Before continuing, it is necessary to notice that the intercultural education is not an educative compensation and that is directed toward particular pupils of social disadvantage, but to the pupils in general. This plan supposes an exclusive platform that assures its application and generalization.

Is it necessary to educate students interculturally? Does it suppose an excessive complexity for the system? Will the reached results be beneficial for the students as well as for society? What does intercultural mean compared to multicultural? Does respect for cultures obtain coexistence adapted within the legal norms of a country?

There are many questions asked by families and professionals at this moment of rapid change and transition toward a new model of society that has appeared in an accelerated form. The argument in favor of intercultural education is derived from the belief that cultures are open, flexible, and ever-changing, even though many interested opinions oppose this and resist those changes. It is easy to see the socio-cultural changes in our country and

each one of our independent communities over the past few years. It demonstrates that change is not only possible, but that change in fact is the only secure constant.

Intercultural education surpasses the concept of multiculturalism, which is simply the coexistence between isolated cultures. More so than multiculturalism, intercultural education implies; knowledge of people from different cultures and their approach, respect for them, the search commonality, the right to be different, and democratic values. From the educative point of view, intercultural education is based on the proposed social model: those who live together must be educated together. This makes it necessary to rethink traditionally mono-cultural education, which has been a model that has not proven good results.

Accomplishments in Favor of Intercultural Education in the Community of Madrid

Advancements in Favor of Intercultural Education in the Community of Madrid

Examples of some accomplishments during the years in which the Community of Madrid has assumed the educative competitions are the following:

1. Creation of the Traveling Support for Immigrant Student Service (SAI). This service involves the dedication of a variable number of professors who assist pupils throughout the school year who do not know Spanish, and also advise the teaching staff as to how to best attend to their pupils.

2. Compensation for previous inequalities in education, such as for a model of Spanish as a second language which respects other cultures. Ex: There has been an increase in the amount of support professors in schools from 374 to more than 1,500 in the 2004/2005 course year.

3. Reservation of plazas for students from different countries established during the schooling periods, which leads to a progressive balance within

the community of Madrid.

4. Provision of cafeteria aids, considered as part of complimentary actions, whose quantity in the 2005/2006 course year ascended to almost 25.000.000 €.

5. Supply of free text books for the students in need.

6. Regulation of measures in compensation in the Obligatory Secondary Education by means of four curricular and organizational modalities, including support groups to study Spanish outside of ordinary classroom time for up to 16 hours weekly, and classrooms of educative compensation which admit pupils older than 15 years of age, with a curricular difference and with no knowledge of Spanish.

7. Creation of Formation and Labor Insertion Units (UFIL) for students 16 years and older, and the subvention of local nonprofit educative organizations. In 2004, these units incorporated into the European Network of Secondary Opportunity Schools. Students of other cultures in the UFIL make up 14% of their matriculation.

8. Supply of courses for the teaching staff in subjects related to attention to diversity and intercultural education; including, Spanish as a second language, interculturalism, conflict resolution, and development of social abilities.

9. Increase in compensation to schools providing projects which support the suitable social integration of students, such as those who favor the student's maintenance of the language and culture of origin.

10. Linguistic and cultural maintenance programs through the Ministry of Education and Science.

11. Formation of schools oriented toward migrant families.

12. Extension of the "Open Classrooms" for music, dance, sports, library, and computation that are opened in the afternoons during the school year, and daily at the conclusion of the scholastic year. These are open the

neighborhood, contributing to elevate the cultural level of the people and to improve the coexistence of all its neighbors.

13. Development of the program Mus-E in agreement with the Yehudi Menuhim Foundation, which tries to facilitate the coexistence between people who are "different," and to help them surpass situations of inequality through art, especially that of music and dance.

14. The "Newcomers Program" which includes the creation of a Learning Community for the immigrant pupils who do not know Spanish. In a term of six months, the students have sufficient knowledge of the language and can incorporate into the habitual educative system. In the 2004/2005 course year, there were 190 working learning communities maintained with public funds, which makes up the existence of 2,280 seats and the attention to a greater number of students.

15. The contest, "Madrid, crossroad of cultures," works interculturalism into educative centers through poetry (2001-2002 course year) and incorporates diversity through micro-stories (2004-2005 course year).

16. The Translators and Interpreters Service, which unifies families and teaching institutions through interpretation services, offered in 30 languages.

17. Translation of documents in the schools or applications for school cafeteria assistants, in addition to others applications, which are available in nine languages on the Web page www.Madrid.org/promocion.

18. The publication of numerous support materials for the teaching staff and for the direct use of students: *Programming of Spanish as a Second Language* (Primary and Secondary); *The Teaching of Spanish Through "Marinero en tierra" Theoretical and Methodological Perspective: Receptive Language, Intercultural Education, and Inclusive Contexts; The Dramatization and Education of Spanish as a Second Language; The Intercultural Education: A Challenge in Europe's present; Multilingual Basic Vocabulary for the Teaching of Spanish* (CD-Rom); *"Una mano tomó la otra"* (anthology poem with a methodological proposal for Secondary Education); *"Poemas para inventar un mundo"* (anthology poem with a

methodological proposal for Education Primary), *Reading and Writing in Diversity Contexts*, etc.

19. Finally, the extension and the reinforcement of the network of education centers for adults as a route of permanent education to which every citizen, including immigrants, has a right. An ample range of lessons is supplied, in addition to the teaching of Spanish as a second language and the possibility of graduating from secondary education. This goal to provide immigrants with knowledge mutual to that of their neighbors best incorporates them into Madrid's society.

With these initiatives, along with the set of actions carried out from the Council of Education in collaboration with other Councils, local administrations, nonprofit associations, and federations of students' parents who dedicate their effort to work in this field, one hopes that they are effective for the attainment of an intercultural education that improves the educative quality, as well as the equality of opportunities for the entire population, in a way that both approaches and constitutes the habitual forms of life and education in the community of Madrid.

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Ma Antonia Casanova is the general Director of promoting education at education council , Madrid, Spain.

Immigrants in a Municipality Near Madrid: The Teaching of Spanish and
Health Education
This work is part of my experience as a voluntary professor of Spanish and
Health Education for immigrants in a Center of ASTI (Asociación
Solidaridad Trabajadores Inmigrantes) in Majadahonda, a village located 15
kilometers from Madrid. Many middle class, single-family homes occupy
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Isabel Gentil García

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this area, which creates a strong demand for immigrants as domestic and
construction workers, gardeners, and handymen.

The immigrants who go to the Center are the neediest; as a student said to
me: "those that have work, those that have documents, and those that have
money do not go to the Center." That is to say, immigrants whose situation

is more precarious, more vulnerable are the ones that go, like men and women of Morocco, China, countries of East Europe, and Brazil. But the flows of immigrants are very dynamic and the socio-demographic profile changes continuously. To a certain degree, an emitting country may "facilitate" emigration by using subliminal tactics, encouraging the members of its low socio-economic stratus to leave: their departure reduces that country's internal tensions, which in turn benefits its economy. On the other hand, the receiving country leaves the borders permeable to people without legal documentation, as some profit greatly from the arrival of these immigrants, who serve as the basis of a submerged economy.

Everyone understands that learning Spanish is necessary to find a job, but the perception of how much of the language must be acquired differs. Some only find it necessary to learn a minimal knowledge of the language, purely for the sake of survival. Others perceive the necessity of learning greater levels of Spanish in order to incorporate into society, and others seek a still greater level to be able to participate in society. To an immigrant, the ignorance of the host country's language creates an obstacle for not only communicating, but more importantly, for finding a job. If the immigrant does not dominate their host country's language, they cannot employ that language as an instrument for communication.

Categories According to the Number of People

We can allow great variability within each one of the following four categories in regards to the amount of people who form the group. From the most numerous to the least numerous are Moroccans from rural zones; Moroccans from cities; people of China; and people from Eastern Europe.

Moroccans from Rural Zones

Those who form this group are mainly young, single women and young, single men; and middle-aged men with families in Morocco. The clear objective of emigrating is to contribute money to the family that remains in Morocco because, as one who immigrated said to me, "with 10 euros, my family does not eat here, but they do with 10 euros in Morocco." The strategy of entrance into Spain is generally clandestine: by boat, under

trucks, or hidden in other places. They know that this strategy may be accompanied with risking their lives. They reason that although 10, 50, or 70 die per year en route, there are many more who make it.

If the destination is not Spain, it is Europe, or wherever there is work. The demands of the market move the migratory flows. As one immigrant explained: "Spain is first, it is one day away from Morocco, if there is no work, I have a cousin in Holland, I go there, it is four days from Morocco. The farther, the better." The emigrant perceives the move as temporary, while maintaining the plan to return to Morocco. This temporality varies, sometimes lasting until retirement. Finding work is not very difficult: women do domestic service, taking care of children or the elderly. Men work sporadically as unskilled physical laborers.

Spanish Acquisition

Moroccans generally go to class until they find a stable job, which can take months depending on the status of the labor market; i.e. the amount of available work to the amount of workers ratio. They learn enough of the language to manage simple phrases in a purely instrumental way. After they find work, they learn to handle specific and concise vocabulary. As one worker put it: "Learning to speak Spanish well is difficult, but no problem at work. My boss always understands me and I understand him." This is because the communication with the boss is limited to receiving concrete, work-related orders.

The people of this group rarely go to class to reach higher-level Spanish. Once they find work, they do not have much free time. The work days are long, often distant from their places of residence, and when they return home they must prepare supper and food for the following day. Furthermore, because the expressive communication will be with relatives and friends from Morocco, there is little relation with the native population during times of rest or leisure. Exceptions are when men enter into relationships with Spanish women. These relationships rarely end in marriage; but however transitory the engagement may be, practice with the language produces an important qualitative jump.

Moroccans Coming from Large Cities

Young, unmarried women and men, or parents of family constitute this group; the majority of whom have an education. The objective to emigrate is not economic, but rather a change of life; to improve the conditions of life for themselves or their children. The entrance strategy is to obtain a tourist visa, without any intention of ever returning. They do not use safety-risk strategies. "If I come here, it is for a better life than in Morocco. If I come in boat, and I die, it is no longer a better life." The destination is not Spain; it is Europe, where they can find a job. Members of this group speak correct French, so they most often choose Belgium and France as their new country. Although their emigration plan does not include returning to Morocco, the affective bond with the country of their birth will always remain and it is always longed for. While they may visit the old country, the plan is to initiate a new life in a new place.

Finding a job is more complicated for this group than for the previous group. Manual labor jobs that require physical effort do not fit into their plan for a better life, causing them to reject these jobs. Preferred positions demand no specific qualification or physical effort, such as: nocturnal workers, store clerks, watchmen or other monitoring, and care-takers of the elderly or patients with disabilities. Aspiration to find a job in agreement with their preparation causes great frustration, but very rarely do they obtain such employment.

The interest to learn Spanish is great. For them it is important to reach high levels of Spanish for two reasons: (a) because they do not resign to the jobs that are offered to immigrants; and (b) they wish to learn a higher level than the merely instrumental one of survival because they also want to express their feelings in Spanish. The majority dominate French, which at first facilitates them in learning Spanish.

For both groups, poverty imposes resignation and self-contempt. It seems that the poorest people assume a negative vision of themselves, but of course, to take on those values does not benefit them; in fact, it favors others.

Something that both groups have in common is they like to learn Spanish sayings. My mother, who was from a town in Burgos, knew numerous sayings which she expressed to describe daily situations. I went through childhood without paying attention to them until one day in a Spanish class for immigrants I said one they liked, so they requested more. Due to their requests and enthusiasm to learn these sayings, I taught them many which I thought I had forgotten. The students remembered a great amount of them. They have also taught me some Moroccan sayings. For example, to show gratefulness toward the person who has taught to you to read and write you say: "To the person who has taught to me to read and write; I remain a slave." Occasionally I spoke to them about the importance of taking care of your back during work in order to grow old with good health, and that it is important to take care of your health in all stages of life. Once an elderly person said to me, "sure, we say: until death, everything is life."To warn of not becoming overconfident and to be alert in every situation they say: "when you see a lion's teeth, do not think it is smiling."

People from China

People of China are married or unmarried, men and women; but all are young. The objective of emigration is to improve the conditions of life by means of working and saving. It would appear that all have proper documentation. In fact, a Chinese person without "papers" has never shown up at the Center, but when I comment on the fact that every person from China has papers, they say to me: "No! Many Chinese without papers." Their destination is wherever there is work; it does not matter what country. They plan on returning to China, but in a very distant future: "Someday when I'm old." They all work; generally in Chinese restaurants for Chinese bosses. They do not work for Spanish industrialists or domestic services. Their interest is economic, saving to someday put their own business here: "a store of cheap things."

When they come to Spain, they know some Spanish. One immigrant shared their language-learning experience:

I liked German but it is now difficult to enter Germany, it is easier to enter Spain or the U.S., where there are English or Spanish classes. Spanish

seemed easier to me, but soon after being here I realized it is very difficult, the verbs are very difficult.

They go to Spanish classes during their rest hours from work. Their interest in Spanish is to have interaction with the clients at their tables. Therefore, they use Spanish more than if they worked in construction. The following is an example of the level of Spanish needed for a construction job versus that of a job as a waiter. A Moroccan asked me: "What is 'power'? *Jefe* says, 'more power, more power,' and I do not understand." A Chinese man asked me to teach him how to say: "the caramelized mushrooms have to be eaten immediately after served. You shouldn't wait because the caramel becomes hardened and they are no longer good."

People from Eastern European Countries

People from Eastern European countries; mainly Romania, Poland, Bulgaria, Ukraine, and Moldavia, are young people with education. The objective is to save enough money to buy a house or put a business in their native country. Their entrance strategy is with visas or as tourists. The original plan is to stay in the new country for only a sufficient amount of time to save up the anticipated amount; but the original plan is likely to change. They like many facets of Spanish life. Often, their plan transforms into setting up small businesses in Spain. The change of plan sometimes has to do with them becoming romantically involved. Often times; the other member of the couple is an immigrant of a different nationality. Their original destination is not Spain, but Europe. Those from this group find work in areas of domestic service and construction, according to gender. They adapt to humbler working standards than to what they are accustomed. One said to me: "Never in my life did I think I was going to work as domestic help, never, never, I studied in a University." Another stated: "I was a History professor in Poland, here, I stroll dogs." These immigrants not only take care of Spanish children and elders, they also take care of the dogs. Majadahonda, as already stated, has a middle and average class population who work in a professional environment with long labor days. Lacking the time to walk their dogs; they pay an immigrant to do it. Though the immigrants from this group lower there professional standards;

they make a real contribution to Spanish society by maintaining the health of its children, elders, and even its dogs.

The interest to learn the language is high. They recognize it as an important mechanism to work and to become independent in the labor area. It is particularly easy for Romanians to learn Spanish, as both languages are Latin-based. A particularly useful tool that many of them utilize is a television channel that continuously shows original versions of Spanish soap operas with written translations in Romanian. However, these soap operas are Venezuelan and Mexican, and although Venezuela, Mexico, and Spain share the same language, the meanings of words often differ.

Another group corresponds to adult women; mothers whose clear and singular objective to immigrate is to save enough to pay for their children's education. As one of the mothers explained, "Education back home is very expensive. I come to work in Spain so that my children can study." The emigration plan is temporary. The entrance strategy is with a visa. The destination is really anyplace where they can save money. A Polish mother said to me, "I wanted to go to Germany, but it wasn't possible with my visa and they said Spain was easier. Spain? I never thought about Spain; I looked at the map and I said OK, Spain." These women usually work as domestic servants or as care-takers of children and elders, living with their employers to save a greater amount of money. The children of these women often perceive their mothers as women with gold visas living in El Dorado.

Communication and Interpretation Problems of the Social Reality

One thing is to learn the Spanish language: another is being competent in communication. Verbal language does not make up communication as a whole. Nonverbal language, culture, customs, and the values constitute the other components of communication. Strictly verbal communication transmits relatively little. Due to the fact that the immigrants' interaction with the native population is limited, restricted to relations at work, television becomes a window to know about Spanish customs. Via television, they observe a reality to which they do not have easy access and believe that it is the exact reflection of Spanish life. But television displays

extreme, exaggerated situations that have nothing to do with the daily life of this country's citizens. For example, a very difficult situation to understand happened on the program, "Big Brother," in its first edition. The program became very popular and had great repercussion in the street. Immigrant students constantly asked me to explain what it was. Their interpretation of the show generated a great controversy among them. They would ask, "They are married, right? Why do they all live together?" Furthermore, they were concerned that the show's participants were "locked up without being able to escape." The program's presenters commonly used the phrase, "They are prisoners," which spurred the conversation "no, they are not prisoners. Why are they in jail? This is not jail." This first edition of the show was set in a town called Soto de Real; which, as they all knew, has a prison known as the Prison of Soto de Real: this caused even greater confusion.

I like to ask them at the beginning of class; "What is new today?" Sometimes their personal situation is static: "nothing, nothing has changed, no papers, no work, many problems." This tends to be the habitual answer, but one day someone said, "Chenoa and Bisbal have separated," and they all happened to know about the gossip. I was surprised about their extended knowledge that even I did not know about. They said to me, "It's just that there is so much on TV, drama and gossip," and they continued speaking and commenting about other famous breakups. Immigrants remain apprehensive of reality as it appears on television, which reinforces the stereotypes of the western culture as atheist, materialist, individualist, libertarian, and lacking respect for elders. To base conclusions on isolated data, which is an error we all make at times, obviously leads to interpretation and communication errors between natives and immigrants.

Double Direction of Linguistic and Cultural Learning

Not only are immigrants exposed to another language and cultural form, but natives are as well. A Moroccan woman, who works in domestic service, comes to the Center with the son of the family for whom she works. This woman has taken care of the same boy since he was two-months-old; the boy is now seven-years-old. She, who has spent many hours with the boy because the parents have jobs which force them to travel much, has spoken

to him in Arabic since he was an infant until today. Today, the boy speaks Arabic fluently, but he does not know how to write it so he now attends Arabic writing classes for immigrants.

Language and culture are interlaced. To know a new language is to know a new culture because language inherently reflects and transmits cultural components. The boy of my last example has not only been acquiring the Arabic language, but also Arabic ways of thinking and being. For example, the boy likes Moroccan food very much. The cultural cross-referencing has multiple open routes. It is important to recognize the existence of the double direction of cultural learning.

Health Education

As a nurse, I believed I was prepared to carry out health education at the Center; but when the health messages are not directed to a middle-class with bad nutrition habits –such as the over-consumption of calories and fats — it is necessary to face another totally different reality, which is that of immigrants and their circumstances. In the face of this different reality, the apparently solid formation as a health educator can lead to failure. For example, the adherence to a nutritious food diagram is necessary to conserve good health, protecting us from disease. In order to prevent osteoporosis in women –a ubiquitous public health problem in our society– we have to insist, among other objectives, on the importance of the calcium intake. I was commenting with menopausal immigrant women the importance of drinking milk to keep healthy bones. After listening kindly one said:

A liter of milk is 0.60 € per day, 5 € per week, 20 € per month for milk only for me: I cannot. There are five mouths to feed here, and seven in Morocco. If I buy milk, my family does not eat."

The pragmatic reality of subsistence imposes upon the knowledge of disease prevention. On the other hand, the pragmatism of metaphorically considering "mouths" instead of the relatives who depend on her and her husband reflects the meaning of immigration for her; to satisfy the most fundamental necessity of survival: eating.

On another occasion, while I was speaking on the importance of eating foods like fruits, meat, and fish, I observed that they listened to the explanations very kindly. After the silence which followed my explanation, I requested that they comment something. One breaks the silence and says, "Those things are good for you, who have a house and a job. We do not have a house; we do not have a job. We immigrants have problems." Another one said,"I eat in one day, seven slices of bread and tea." He asked the man beside him, "And you?" That man replied, "I am just as my cousin: bread is cheap." The fact carbohydrates constitute a high percentage of their diets is not bad, considering that their jobs require physical effort. Carbohydrates are their dietary staple, but they need other nutrients to maintain good health. Immigrants' diet directly correlates with the economic and social conditions they face.

In the initial stages of the immigration process, the labor situation is more precarious and unstable, placing economic gain over one's health. The immigrant's struggle of daily survival is invisible to many members of Spanish society. If we are to accept the ideal of assuming multicultural models where we all fit, we should not only know the immigrants' customs, but also the social reality in which they are living.

Insufficient nutrition is a reality to the immigrants with a short time of stay in our country. When they reach stability in the labor and economic aspects, they begin to reach stability in their diets. An essential way to maintain their identity, which is always put at risk during the emigration process, is the material and symbolic adherence to the traditional meals of the country of origin, the cuisine of one's childhood and traditions.

Health Education for Immigrants

The health education to immigrants, more than to any other group, will have to be bidirectional and interactive. The campaigns of health education with unidirectional messages or written pamphlets, which are the mere translation of the original message in Spanish to their language, without considering the social, cultural, and economic characteristics, will lead to failure. Pretending to "educate" on correct dieting cannot be done if the perspective of people living in a precarious economic situation is left aside.

To imagine that the doling out of health advice will modify their practices shows nothing but ignorance on the part of health professionals. More than ignorance, it also shows arrogance by conceiving our practices as more developed and cultured.

When we give health-related messages we must remember they are not neutral, although we believe so. They contain ideological and cultural content about ways of being or perceiving the world. In order to interact with people of other cultures we must know their cultural values and place ourselves in situations having previously reflected: Are we trying to make them believe in us blindly? Can this situation be transplanted to their experience? Let us not try to pretend that our lives and professional experiences are universally logical.

To understand the background of this topic will help us understand a subject that sometimes is observed by health professionals with too much passion and little rationality: immigrants' health. If we ignored all of the circumstances of the immigrant's life, our professional activities could lead us to frustration. That feeling of frustration is sometimes visible in health-related workers in their attitudes towards immigrants, whom health-care professionals blame, saying: "they just do not do what they are supposed to;" "they do not listen to us;" "they do what they want." For a health-care worker to place blame on the immigrants is a more comfortable position when failure to modify practices is apparent, but if we all opted on comfort, our species would have been extinguished millions of years ago.

Attitudes of Health Professionals

One of my students from my 3rd year of nursing wrote in class:

It is certainly logical and fundamental to reject groups or individuals that cross our borders with unrespectable aims, such as drug trafficking, delinquency, and rape violation. They are immigrants who cannot integrate into a healthy society. Instead they try to force their way of life onto others without respect. It is impossible to accept and tolerate those people who do not contribute nor enrich the country, but who rather foment the citizen's logical reaction to reject. No tolerant person would ever accept for their

daughter to be violated, their house or business be robbed, or to be stabbed in the streets or in the subway. Nor that hospital beds are occupied by non-taxpayers, those who do not live up to societal obligations. Above all, citizens object to being called racists for rejecting immigrants as such.

However, it is necessary to remember that all human beings have legal rights. The right of health protection is a fundamental and legitimate right to all. Since The Declaration of Rights of Man and Citizen after the French Revolution of 1789, the right to medical aid is seen as an inseparable right of human dignity. Intertwined with this is the right to life, to physical integrity, and personal dignity.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights states in Article 25 that every human being has the right to a lifestyle which guarantees a good state of health. Article 11 of the Social European Letter of 1961 declares the right to the protection of health, as does Article 35 of the Letter of the Fundamental Rights of the European Union, approved in Niza in 2000. In Spain, Article 43 of the Constitution states the importance of health, and Article 1.2 of the General Law of Health states the right to the protection of health for all those who live in Spain.

Among health professionals in our present society exists the full range of attitudes regarding immigrants, from solidarity to rejection, and every position in between. There are professionals who desire greater professional formation and want to solve the new challenges of working with a population whose cultural characteristics are not known. There are other health professionals who view immigrants as threatening to our health, thinking of them as carriers and propagators of diseases.

Immigrants are Healthy

In view of the previous assertion, there have been several scientific studies that demonstrate that immigrants are healthy. This is due to natural selection in the country of origin. Normally, those who emigrate are the youngest, the physical and emotionally strongest, because the adventure of emigration requires these qualities.

However, some become ill for two reasons: (a) the precarious conditions of life due to overcrowded neighborhoods, or labor accidents that happen frequently to immigrants working under dubious contracts or subcontracts; (b) another reason is what Atxótegui (2002) has defined as the "duel of immigration."

This "duel" is generally understood as the alteration of personality that takes place when something significant to that person is lost; something that makes up the affective and personal history of that person. The duel is a natural and frequent process in peoples' lives whenever they must leave behind something with which they had an affectionate tie. However, this adaptive approach to reality helps maintain psychological balance.

Immigration brings about some of the most difficult changes a human being can face. Such as; the loss of family relations, friends, the landscape of one's childhood, the meals, scents, colors, the language, the climate, the customs, different cultural codes, status, the way of dressing, the sense of time, and often the change from life in the fields to an urban way of life. It is a loss of all the bonds one has formed as a person, which were constituted during the first stages of life. Immigrants must try to maintain these bonds through which they can express their personality and identity, but they must also simultaneously develop new bonds through interpersonal relations in order to adapt to a new society. Those who had idealized their future life, or who arrived with the hope of an easy life, meet greater degrees of frustration, feelings of failure, depression, and anxiety. Due to this psychological strain, many of these suffer from stomach aches, headaches, and insomnia. Some health professionals, who are ignorant to the "Duel Immigration Syndrome" as described by Atxótegui, perceive immigrants facing these problems as hard to deal with.

Human Necessities and Health

The psychologist A. Maslow, whose parents were immigrants, reached diverse conclusions about human nature based on the following two ideas (1976): (a) human beings innately tend towards superior levels of health, creativity, and success; (b) neurosis can block that tendency. He observed

that the peoples' behavior is different when they enjoy a state of positive health as opposed to struggling with their health.

Maslow described the necessities of human beings as being staggered in such a way that the necessities of the more basic level must be covered before moving up to the next level. The most basic level of human necessity, according to Maslow, includes the physiological needs: food, water, and shelter. When the human being has those necessities covered, one begins to worry about the security of having these things in the future, and how to protect them. Once the individual feels physically secure, they want to be identified with, and participate in a social group. In this group they look for affectionate feelings, friendship, and love. When the individual is integrated into social groups he or she begins to feel the necessities of gaining self-esteem, prestige, success, and respect from others. Finally, individuals that have all the steps covered reach a culmination and wish to feel achievement, that they are giving everything they can of themselves they wish to create.

An undocumented Romanian woman with a warning to leave the room she rented said to me, "I have so many problems that I do not even have time to think about me." Instability and uncertainty demand individuals to focus on resolving the most urgent problems. When all the energies are used to satisfy the most elementary necessities, there remains the unfulfilled possibility of satisfying the necessities of superior order. Therefore, psychosomatic maladies, such as digestive problems, unspecific pains, anxiety, and sadness, are not uncommon.

Open Door for Hope and Education

Hope is to think that things can and will improve. Hope is a feeling that tells us what we wish for can be obtained. Hope is the feeling we experience when we envision a road toward a better future. Human beings actively hope in order to fight against the difficulties.

Emigration produces the ambivalence of suffering pain and loss while hoping for a better future. When a person decides to assume the risk of emigrating, it is because there is a strong perspective of hope: that hope

ignites the motor for "the big jump;" a great jump that is not physical, but emotional. But hope is not blind; it knows the obstacles of the future. It gives us the courage to face our circumstances and the capacity to surpass them.

Education provides the key for a new, better world; a more just world. Bertrand Russell (1997) said that one generation could transform the world, giving birth to another generation of brave children, not twisted in unnatural ways, but candid, generous, affectionate, and free. Their ardor would sweep the cruelty and the pain that we support today only for being sluggish, cowardly, hard of heart, and stupid. It is education that has given us these bad qualities, and it is education who must promote the opposite virtues.
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Isabel Gentil García has a Ph.D. in Social Anthropology and Professor of the E.U. of Infirmary, Universidad Complutense Madrid and Collaborator of the CEMIRA.

My Experience as a Professor in an Institute With Immigrants in Extremadura
It is evident that since the 1990s there has been an increase in the number of immigrants in the Spanish nation. Although this phenomenon has also been part of other European countries; until this decade it was considered as something remote or peripheral, although it was more evident in highly populated cities. The dynamics of the economy in Spain, the consolidation and advance of the state of well-being, the political uncertainty of some states, and the difficulties or few possibilities of social promotion are becoming incentives for immigrants in search of personal and family improvement.

My Experience as a Professor in an Institute With Immigrants in Extremadura

Juan José Jiménez García

It is evident that since the 1990s there has been an increase in the number of immigrants in the Spanish nation. Although this phenomenon has also been part of other European countries; until this decade it was considered as something remote or peripheral, although it was more evident in highly populated cities. The dynamics of the economy in Spain, the consolidation and advance of the state of well-being, the political uncertainty of some states, and the difficulties or few possibilities of social promotion are

becoming incentives for immigrants in search of personal and family improvement.

The increasingly stable presence of immigrants makes their integration in the school system a great challenge in the 21st Century, where countries like France or Germany already have an expanded presence, as is also present in the United States which is integrated by Central Americans, especially from Mexico and Puerto Rico.

Spain counts a half million registered foreigners. This is very different from the 5,000 foreign students that were welcomed in Spanish institutions a decade ago. There was a slow annual growth, registered between 6% and 15% that was accelerated to almost 28% and now surpasses 45%, according to the last data reports of Spain 2005 given by the *Fundación Encuentro*.

In spite of the efforts for integration, the only fact is that 30% of the immigrant students fail, not including basic studies. Not to mention the observed index of absenteeism is very high among these students.

This scholastic failure provides evidence for mistakes made in regards to the integration of these young people, but these, according to our observation, not only depend on the educative center, but also on the non-integration into their surrounding space or economic partner. Non-integration can be the outcome when an immigrant sees her or himself as a second class citizen or perhaps as a transitory circumstance, saying, "I'll leave tomorrow." This view causes them to maintain one way of life and traditional values as a reaction to being absorbed by the culture of the new country.

Integration in western societies has been approached from a stance of multiculturalism to assume positions closer to interculturalism. Integration is a relatively static position based on tolerance and respect toward other cultures, but where a culture dominates another one. Interculturalism, on the other hand, dynamically emphasizes that interaction is what matters, recognizing that theculture is an interactive phenomenonthat cannot be isolated. It is necessary to affirm one's own culture in relation to the others, and this is achieved by creating an atmosphere in which everyone can contribute and that those contributions are susceptible of exchange and

critical valuation. Interculturalism provides a broader scope than multiculturalism because part of recognizing cultural diversity is positioning cultural interaction itself as an educative force.

The object of thedebates focuses on the population of Talayuela.The majority of its inhabitants come from the northeast zone of Morocco, mainly of Oujuda, Taourirt, and Jerada. These territories are semi-desert zones, where the main economic sources are agriculture and livestock. Many families give thanks to the money sent by their relatives that have immigrated to Europe.

Because of the process of family regrouping, there has been a considerable increase of women and children. The number of immigrant families who reside in the zone at the moment is very high, and because most are large families, the number of children in school has increased remarkably.

There is still an immigrant population with a temporary way of thinking, but the stability of immigrant families is becoming a more and more consolidated reality, not only Maghribian, but also of other nationalities. In Talayuela, 41% of their population consists of immigrants.

To prepare the children of immigrants for the labor market, in Spain as in their countries of origin, is of primary concern for the educative institution I.E.S. (International Education of Students) "San Martín" of Talayuela. Today the center counts 405students of which 103 are of Moroccan origin. Most of the students are in secondary obligatory education (ESO) and the rest are distributed between high school and formative cycles. The institute began in the 1997-98 course year with an already noticeable percentage of immigrant students.

Immigrant students can integrate into society when they receive the kind of attention that this center gives them. The center has a Temporary Classroom of Linguistic Adaptation (ATAL) in operation, along with classrooms of Linguistic Compensation (ACL) that facilitate the adaptation of foreign students to the Spanish educative system. The same procedures take place in other Spanish communities. Students take great advantage of these activities and workshops.

Attention to Immigrant Pupils in the I.E.S. (International Education of Students) "San Martín"

The I.E.S. San Martín of Talayuela has the necessary and official means needed to attend to immigrant pupils. When the student arrives, the Department of Direction evaluates the level of knowledge of the language and fundamental subjects, and based on this initial evolution the student is assigned to some of the classrooms of ATAL or ACL (linguistic compensation).

The characteristics are the following:

ATAL: It is a classroom that guarantees the learning of Spanish at minimum levels that allow the student to take suitable advantage of the classes. There are mainly Spanish language classes as well as mathematics, social sciences, and natural sciences. The student will be able to remain in this class, which is a complete school course at the most, and is obligated to pass to the superior level (ACL) in the next course.

ACL: (1 and 2) These classrooms are designed so that once the initial language problem is surpassed, the knowledge gap that appears in subjects like language, mathematics, social sciences, and natural sciences, is filled. In the remaining subjects, these students are caught up with their classmates in the group following a totally standardized education, with adaptations in certain cases.

As shown, the objective of the Educative Administration is to incorporate the immigrant student, in a non-threatening way, into the operation of the center in a maximum of two complete school courses. The students are also requested to show their motivation to learn, and the hope is for the relatives to take an interest in education of their children.

School Problems

The increase in the number of students registered in schooling centers has given rise to an increase in bibliographical reviews, articles, multimedia publications, or seminars, which all have the common goal to willfully

surge toward the same reality where each culture has capabilities in all civilizations. However,immigrant students face difficulties when the time is at hand to enter the labor market. First, there are cultural differences: nutritional habits, ways of dressing, and customs. Two significant cultural components for the Moroccan immigrant pupils are their language and religion. Culture-shock is less of an issue for Central American immigrants because they know the language and there is the possibility they have the same beliefs. Eastern origin immigrants share a form of writing of totally different characters from that of Spanish which makes it harder to learn our language.

Those students who have been schooled in Spain from the beginning present a better comprehension of the Spanish language and of other subjects. On the other hand, those who have been schooled in their native country have an ample knowledge of their maternal language and their incorporation to the educative system is more involved. That is why there are programs like the ATAL and the ACL.

Religion is a strong force that unites immigrants to their origins. The possibility of the loss of values and customs of religious traditions puts the student's integration in the schools and society at risk. The immigrants' relatives can see that their traditional culture is being distorted, causing them to be skeptical of schooling centers.

The schooling centerscommonly receive students who dropped out of the schools in their country as a product of the precarious socioeconomic situations in which they lived. Some of them arrive to Spain illiterate even in their own language. If they are not involved in school at an early age, they run the risk of dropping out from school in order to work. They do not identify school as an instrumental to later find a job. The direct relation between the educative system and access to the labor market is not always evident for the parent.

Another detrimental circumstance for the integration process is the excessive number of immigrant studentsthat register in public programs, especially in districts that welcome these populations, like in case of Talayuela. This causes students to flee to other public or arranged centers, reinforcing, therefore, the concept of ghettos.

There is a high degree of absenteeism which familiar circumstances greatly determine, such as the necessity to take temporary jobs, return to the country of origin, or job hunt. Minors often help their families economically with some submerged labor activity. This fact can undo all the matriculation the student has received or postpone the attainment of their degree. The lack of knowledge of the school curriculum, including content and cycles, poses a huge challenge. Parents hardly know the degree to which their children are developing in their education. However, parents do preach to their children the importance of three aspects of public education; that they: (a) do not cause conduct problems (b) have friends, and (c) get along with the professors. On the other hand, they worry about: (a) moral liberalism compared to that of their country of origin, (b) the lack of respect and worthy treatment from their classmates, or (c) racism on behalf of classmates or professors.

My Own Experience: From the Unknown to the Known

Albert Einstein said, "It is easier to break an atom than prejudice."My situation was such in the beginning. Although the Arab world was not completely unknown to me since I had visited Morocco as a college student, now things were different; they were in my culture; would my students be able to value what unites us? Would I be able to respond to their learning necessities? What did they want to learn? What instruments did the administration contribute toward the immigrant student? What was their level in the Spanish language?

Professional advice can only go so far; the answers to my questions would only come as I began my first classes. The best instruments that we teachers have are dialogue and observation. These two instruments would give me the keys I needed to approach the unknown. During my initial evaluations of the class, I noticed the difficulty the immigrant students had in expressing themselves correctly in their second language, and in understanding all the concepts taught in class. The students who had long been enrolled in the classes did not face this difficulty. The difference is not only in the level of knowledge of the second language, but also that the student who has been born or who incorporated into the educative system before ESO has greater possibilities of socio-educative integration.

The motivation with which they approach the activities equals that of the native students. Students show a different level of interest when it comes to homework. This makes the role the parents playrelevant regarding the study of their children imperative. Positive parental influence the academic formation of their child is quite deficient. The dynamics of their socio-labor situation (temporary jobs, high number of hours worked) makes them spend a large amount of time outside the family nucleus, preventing proper communication with their school-aged children. The amount of time they spend outside the home also makes them ignorant of the operation of the education and learning of their children; i.e., what are the stages, cycles, evaluations, methodologies, rights and duties of the students, and scholastic organization.

For this reason, we propose that the actions taken upon immigrants be integral. That is to say that it not only takes care of the immigrant student, but that it also keeps in mind the integration of the adults by means of an adapted formation (the knowledge of the second language and the knowledge of the operation of the scholastic system and the institutions of their surroundings).

Another characteristic that is observed in the centers in regards to problems of integration is the tendency to sometimesspatially separate the immigrants from the rest of the class. This may seem, from the point of view of educative methodology, as a positive learning strategy. It seems to project the integration of the collective immigrant by forming groups of exclusively native students where the number of immigrant students predominates. This could be an approach to developing tolerance and interculturalism: to allow a group of students from the same foreign country to numerically dominate; then subtly integrate them to the point where there is reciprocal exchange between them and native students. Classroom space is organized based on the ethnic group and gender: Moroccans and non-Moroccans, boy and girls. The only occasions in which they share desks with native students are when that native student has also been discriminated against due to some physical or mental disability. In common spaces like the patio, the same established premises are usually repeated. In order to alleviate or diminish this disintegration that could develop comparative prejudices among the students, this tendency must be broken.

Commonly proposed to teachers, as was the case in my own experience, is to use a prescriptive curriculum. This suggestion shows a lack of faith in teachers, that they are not capable of creatively fulfilling certain objectives or criteria. This way of thinking must be deconstructed, as this model of instruction quickly collapse in real-life classrooms. One's own occupation or experience determines how to teach at every moment, since there is no possibility for generalized positions for classrooms with diverse students such as these. This knowledge does not come immediately, but happens with the everyday educational practice.

To come to an understanding as to what teaching strategies will be most effective, it is necessary to keep in mind what the student's educative experience in Morocco must have been. The teacher must approximate what the student studied and know; what they want to know, and how they approach new material. I soon realized the richness of educating students from mainly two cultures, Moroccan and Spanish. In class speak of history, art, and geography by focusing on the well-known contributions their own country has made in those areas. The professor is enriched and participates in the culture of the immigrant, while the rest of the classmates have a greater knowledge of the reality of their country, seas, rivers, history, art, and literature. These expositions could be dealt with in their own language or in the one they have to learn to share with rest of the students as a form of socio-cultural interchange. This method is used when Spanish students study a second or third language, whether it is English, French or German, approaching historical, geographic, artistic, and traditional aspects of each country in the mentioned languages.

Bilingualism is usually associated with educational centers where students at a high social and cultural level or children of civil or industrialist foreigners predominate. It is up to public education, therefore, to adequately supply the necessities of immigrants or assimilated foreigners. The method used to build bilingualism in public school is the same as it would be in any country. The maternal language, as well as other transversal aspects of their culture is used as support at the time of approaching an official curriculum so as not to incur a total loss of the immigrant student's native culture (Smith, 2001). Many immigrants, after being registered in Morocco during a great part of their scholastic life, forget most of their knowledge after

remaining in Spain for a long period of time. Some come to the point of not knowing how to write in either Arabic or Spanish. This is the reality: they are caught in two cultures without dominating either one.

The method just proposed to produce bilingualism would be an educative offer allowing students to be in agreement with what the labor or international markets demand, at the same time it would allow them to not to be distanced from their maternal language. Schooling centers must believe in this point in order to professionally qualify the students. An example would be in Extremadura, in the *Gabinete de Iniciativas Transfronterizas*, where they demand technicians and professionals to work in the neighboring country; the fact is that there are few centers that supply this language.

Bilingualism has been studied and defended by authors likeDuverger, Smith, Vygostky, Kaplan, Ferreiro, García Mínguez, and Manuela Caballero. The latter has recently presented a doctoral thesis that approaches the direct relation between the skills that contribute to a student to continue studying the maternal language outside their country in coexistence with the new language, and how a mutual transference of knowledge takes place. The study focuses on two Extremadura centers and two of the Swiss divisions of Vaud. The author reaches the conclusion that the scholastic success of the students who arrive to a foreign country between 7 and 18 years of age depend upon the formation which they receive in their language of origin, although it remains in the background. According to the investigation, it is very positive for these students to maintain contact with the maternal language, mainly for the benefit that contributes to their acquisition of knowledge and improvement of the other language. This study shows the necessity to enhance the socio-cultural knowledge of the students, and to make sure that our professors are aware of the "new didactics of the emigration" (Noticias Universitarias, 2004).

Starting from the unknown, we bring socio-cultural knowledge to light. It is definitively the best way to understand others; it makes cultural interaction in itself educational. Although this method adapts to educational centers with a major foreign population, the problem can arise when there is a multiplicity of nationalities registered in the same center with different

cultures. In this case, multiculturalism is a necessary tool to integrate diversities around a dominant culture.

In the next pages, I shall move on to a new model of formation for these centers that is in accordance to the new linguistic reality that immigration has taken to the scholastic centers and institutes.

Toward a New Model of Formation

It seems necessary to give a positive reading of the socio-cultural reality of our students in response to new educative challenges they give in order for us to escape from the fatalistic association of immigration with scholastic failure. For this reason we emphasize the importance ofeducation as a catalyst for the future of the children of immigrants. The mission of the parents is to favor school attendance and to avoid absenteeism. The mission of the educative centers is to serve as the means by which these immigrant families can transform their reality; because scholastic success generates their social success.

New strategies must be developed which will facilitate the students who have just arrived during their first encounter with the scholastic culture. The framework for these strategies must allow for the recognition of potential in each student. Within this process, the professor acts asamediator to establish contact with the new classmates, situations, and objects that surround the student in the scholastic world. Once this contact is established, the student makes use of the new language by means of real linguistic practices. This requires the teacher to become an observer of the affective and cognitive capacities and difficulties of the students. The teacher must also be able to stimulate communication, energize the students when they face difficulties, negotiate the objectives and the contents of learning, provide information, manage activities, and organize resources.

On what premises is this model of formation based? Firstly, especially when it comes to teaching bilingualism to the immigrant student, I part from the decisions made by the political administration which define how education will be practiced by determining what methodology to follow. In general, models oscillate between fundamental compensatory expositions in

support groups and specific structures of welcoming those who have just arrived, like ATAL classrooms where the student is immersed in the Spanish language during a course. They all present a common denominator in our country: the total absence of methodological directives in relation to learning processes of the second language and the deficiency of true intercultural expositions, since the possibility of preserving languages and cultures of origin by means of bilingual programs or programs of support in maternal language is contemplated in any case. Merino Fernandez and Muñoz Sedano (1995) indicated that a pluricultural school must propose a multicultural pedagogy based on different principles: anthropological (identity, dialogue, diversity), epistemological (universal values), and pedagogical (affective educative programs). The school must respect and develop the sense of personal and cultural identity, which is obtained by respectful education with cultural diversity that includes the possibility of cultivating one's own culture as a guarantee of personal identification for the subject and of cultural permanence for the group.

Secondly, the formation of the teaching staff must start off by studying the context, being conscious of the situation of the immigrant families: precarious processes of regularization, economic deficiencies, disintegrated families, and ignorance of the cultural idiosyncrasy of the new country which motivates a generalized rejection of the immigrant in the educative community by teachers, parents of native children, and their own companions.

Thirdly, I value the importance of initial and continuous formation of education as a way of approaching the difficulties of learning related to the intercultural and individual factors, consisting of social stratification, age, gender, and the place they occupy within the group, etc.

That is why I say the knowledge and recognition of cultural difference is necessary to improve our educational task and to design more precise didactic instruments, including:

1. Initial evaluation models adapted to the educative and cultural characteristics of the immigrant students.

2. Bilingual didactic material.

3. Activities adapted to the scholastic peculiarities of the immigrant student

These instruments can only be formed by giving students the type of attention that moves us away from linear, single-caused, and determinist positions. In order to develop and implement a model which includes all of these postulates, that model must pass through a two-step process.

1. An integral plan for immigrant students, made by the independent communities where the maternal language is considered as an element for the knowledge of the official curriculum must be carried to the administration. Agreements of cooperation of the educational professionals would have to be made.

2. The framework of the plan is introduces to many schooling centers, but the objectives as defined by the administration are adapted to the socio-cultural idiosyncrasy of the center.

Lastly, this educative project of the center must gather a plan of welcome for these students, where in its elaboration there is a great number of professionals involved in the educative and non-educative processes of the center.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have provided evidence from my own experiences of the necessity of the formation of a new educative initiative. Interculturalismtries to absorb and integrate the immigrant population so that they get an education equal to the rest of the population, native and immigrant. Therefore, intercultural education is relevant to all community parts. The mission is to teach the community to look at their fellow human from an ample perspective to understand how they think and feel. The educational practice proposed demonstrates that the knowledge of the maternal language favors the intellectual development of the student. It even favors the formation of its character, emotions, and personality; that is to say, her or his values. Schooling centers set the standards for interculturalism, and of the exchange of knowledge and dialogue among

different cultures. This exchange of knowledge helps society to become more tolerant.

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Juan José Jiménez García is a Professor in the Institute of Immigrants in Talayuela, Extremadura, Spain.

Knowledge of Language, Learning, and Intercultural Coexistence
The phenomenon of immigration, as all social phenomena, is very complex.
It is even more complex when it is put in relation to education. In order to
approach such a precise subject, as is the knowledge of a language and its
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Knowledge of Language, Learning, and Intercultural Coexistence

José Luis Calvo Buezas

The Scenario of Immigrant Education

The phenomenon of immigration, as all social phenomena, is very complex.
It is even more complex when it is put in relation to education. In order to
approach such a precise subject, as is the knowledge of a language and its
functions, one has to keep in mind the general requirements of this process
that serve as a suitable context.

- Schematically refer to the fundamental parameters that must be
  considered.
- Coexistence in school among the diverse is much easier and effective
  if one begins at an early age because the plasticity of the subjects is

much greater.

- There is a need to begin thinking of the second generation, so that the immediacy of the present problems does not prevent us from looking ahead and confronting the immediate future.
- The active and passive scholastic absenteeism should be avoided at all costs. It is difficult to find a job that is easy-going, stable, adequate, and worthy without having a minimum formation.
- The centers must implement plans to welcome new students as much as possible because schooling a child, especially if it is an immigrant, is much more complex then just sitting her or him at a desk.

Schooling centers must count who is a foreigner by specifically documenting records, reflecting the social surroundings to which each center serves. The Educative Project must establish objectives of mestization; the Curricular Project must gather cultural elements of foreigners; and the Internal Regulation must establish norms of intercultural coexistence and categorize the xenophobia and the racial insults to eradicate them. The center's organization must attend to diversity a much as possible; that is not only a fact, but a norm as well, with flexible groupings, compensating course and social guarantee, modalities of professional initiation, job formation, and professional workshops.

There has to be a sufficient number of professors to take care of schooling necessities with the corresponding curricular adaptations for the students present in the classrooms. Specific and complementary formation in this field is demanded by many of the students as very necessary.

The creation of classrooms of cultural immersion is a necessary factor to favor an affective encounter, equality in relationships, and respect for human rights and the Constitution.

- Knowledge of the language is an absolute priority to obtain a suitable coexistence, social integration, learning, and mestization between nations and cultures.
- The designation of tutors specifically for immigrants is very advisable because their necessities are more than those of a normal student and the contact with the family even harder.

- The participation of foreigners in the school board, parent and student associations, and among the delegates of courses and groups must be promoted.

Once this general frame has been reviewed, we approach the concrete subject of the knowledge of the new society's language and functions it fulfills.

Personality, Language, and Culture

Generally, every person's identity, as well as that of diverse groups in particular, is greatly determined by their own culture. Humans, as opposed to the rest of the animals, are born practically complete: a person is nature and culture, so that the individual is partly biology, history, and project. Ecologically, according to J.L. Pinillos, the human is an ecumenical being. Humans can build a home by any means, which in turn means that in reality they lack a natural oikía (house). Nature gave birth to human beings, forcing humans to invent our own world, and to perish. Its long stage of family dependences is completed slowly, with a long process of acculturation. Nature and biology make us equal, whereas culture, i.e., everyone's circumstances and social surrounding elements of civilization, differentiates and accentuates our own identity. This increases the diversity that unites the flexibility of personality and society.

Homogeneity and diversity, therefore, go hand in hand and develop jointly, in a complementary synthesis, as two separate halves. We are all equal, we are all different, and everybody is an individual with a radical individuality. Here we find the inconsistency of racism in the personality of those who profess it as a learned code of information and valuation. Socio-cultural learning, and not nature, is what provides us with stereotypes and clichés, with schemes of understanding the social norms to regulate the reciprocal relations, with the classification criteria of hierarchy, with schemes of values, and with the operative guidelines. Racists are not born, but made. The socialization process is at the same time a personalization process, that is to say, a transformation in which the human individual acquires its own personality with all the elements that integrate it. Numerous psychologists and sociologists agree with this exposition. J. Piaget indicated that, thanks

to the social life, an individual can learn the reflective capabilities of its own mind.

Durkheim considered personality to be a response to the received pressures of social means. The cultural influence of society develops the individual's mentality. This central idea should be kept in mind when approaching the learning of those who are undergoing the process of immigration whose cultural environment is changed, or those who live in a duality that is partially different from their social life as a student. The migratory processes always include cultural changes because societies construct a peculiar symbolic system, according to which it understands reality, organizes social life, raises the direction of its future life project, and sets the angles of perception and orientation of conduct.

Any immigrant, in a short time of living in a different society, is not the same person as they were, nor behaves in the same way, as in their country. The ways in which society interprets "the diverse" also depend on factors such as: adaptation, insertion, absorption, assimilation, integration, multiculturalism, acculturation, transculturation, enriched identity, cultural pluralism, interculturality, intermarriage, etc. The differences that entail the passing of a culture to another one also mark levels of uprooting, ghetto, discrimination, rejection, greater or smaller difficulties of participation, and the models of intercultural coexistence that provide the perception of the surroundings. The pro-social attitudes and prejudices, according to V. Volpe, last and can only be erased with great difficulty due to the fact that they form an integral part of one's personality.

Cultural elements also work as valuation criteria, concepts for understanding, operative instruments and values, and symbols that, being related to each other, construct social cohesion. The acculturation of the immigrant is a plural process, open and continuous. It is nourished with cultural diversity and goes through generational phases according to the permanence of the immigrant in the new society and of the consolidation of a life project. Coexistence requires the immigrant to pass through a stage of social learning in which conflicts appear and personal and group friendships are practiced. It is also the point at which the assimilation of culturally

diverse personalities takes place, creating and fortifying phobias and likings.

According to Malinoski, cultural elements are distributed in two great categories: the instrumental and the ideological. The instrumental creates technical products, such the result of human work, as well as natural objects; like earth, landscape, rivers; and other creations like houses, clothes, adornments and decorations, etc. All of these are important root elements of personal configuration that coexist and prevail throughout generations, serving as nostalgia for their native country. Ideological elements are the different systems of symbols, ethical principles and norms of conduct, which manifest themselves in a person's attitudes, ideology and beliefs, traditions, and customs, as well as prejudices, likings, collective phobias, fondness and feelings etc. The most persistent are language and culinary because they are conserved in one's home and always function as signs of one's identity.

Language has a special operative relevance. It serves as the principle means of conscience, comprehension, expression and communication. Dominance or non-dominance of the society's language is one of the great dividing lines of social adjustment; possibilities of integration and of labor insertion depend upon it.

Language as a Comprehensive Structure of Reality

Human speech makes the ability to comprehend language key to understanding, and adjusting to the world. It is possible to manipulate the language, to distort it, or to attribute it a meaning different from that habitually well-known; in other words, to pervert it. Aristotle warned us that words, more than meanings, have "uses," something that has been recently confirmed by analytical philosophy. A speaker's intentionality and underlying interests can confer strange meanings to terms. Language does not have one single constructive function of thought. It is descriptive, but also touching, and admirable. Some behaviorist psychologists, like J.B. Watson, identify it with the same capacity as thinking. The ambiguously univocal, analogical, and sometimes equivocal character of words creates multiple possibilities, turning language into a channel of the closest

affectivity and of sinister hatreds. The comprehension of the world that is created in the midst of language and through each different language is a determining factor of each individual's personality.

The truth about how humans enter into a relationship with their world through is not the physical-natural reality, but the cultural. Data is perceived, understood, hierarchized, and expressed by means of language. This process of perception forms, catalogues, and values ideas, feelings, and attitudes. This dimension of language is deeper and more complex than the simple use of language as a didactic instrument. Reality as a social and sociological construction must analyze the processes by which this takes place.

According to a Berkeley philosopher, "esse est percipi," that is to say, perception places meaning on things. The field of Psychology studies, in part, the mechanisms humans use in order to structure and interiorize such mental construction. These constructions are two-sided, interior and exterior, resulting in communication with others while maintaining an inter-subjective character.

In this complex process, language serves as a scheme of the relation of *I* with the others, cataloguing, integrating, and conserving experiences. The transference of communication conditions the content of the message and even plays a first order role in the continuity of passed experiences, present ones, and the projection of an integrated future. The immigrants who do not know the language of the society into which they have incorporated will have a harder time participating in the social life of the new society. Ignorance creates an almost insurmountable a barrier to making contact with people and forming part of society.

For students, learning the language is a way of possessing an adequate instrument to be placed in the scholastic scope. For workers, it is a necessary condition to participate in the productive world. If something is perceived, but cannot be communicated, it is as if it was not known. In the era of globalization, communication, and great migratory movements, knowledge of the language is the first condition for a possible intercultural coexistence. Everybody agrees that we live in the era of communication, but at the same time, many, mainly foreigners, assent to the fact that we

suffer from non-communication. Non-communication produces a feeling of pain and solitude in silence, while the tender words of a mother are like vitamins for a child. Non-communication can sometimes occur among people of the same nation; for example, those that come from certain Maghribian zones only know the dialect of their region.

The affective dimension of language can provoke certain emotions in the listener, inducing one to react in a determined way according to the context of its meaning. The initial isolation that schooling brings about on a child or teen who does not know the language not only affects their learning, but also the relations with their companions in the class, during recess, and in complementary activities. The stimulation, relation between schoolmates, and even insults, all have one of the deepest structures of communication and personality within language.

Language as a Learning Instrument

Human culture in general, particularly European, has a basic nucleus for understanding, so that language and thought can be very hardly separated. Spanish philosopher Ortega y Gasset, was preoccupied with the world of culture, and defined language as the first science. Later philosophers have wanted to reduce science to a well-constructed language or analysis. To understand a text is to mentally transform material symbols and to extract meaningful thought.

With the arrival of a child or adolescent immigrant to a scholastic center, the possibilities of their integration increase or decrease according to whether or not they know the language. They coexist and participate by means of communication. Although language is not the only means to establish relations, it is the most important; in a certain way, it encircles all the others.

More than a third of the schooled immigrants have problems dominating the language. Others, although they use it colloquially, have little knowledge of it. This constitutes the first problem to facilitate their integration and to provide them with the basic tools for the rest of their learning that compose the curricular project in diverse levels of schooling.

According to Calvo Buezas, many Spaniard students express that the most powerful justification of the separation of foreign students from the Spaniards would be to put them into Spanish language classes, then incorporate them into general classes only after the learn Spanish. The professors also state in another similar survey that the major difficulty in teaching some immigrant students is their ignorance of the language, which generates a sensation of impotence for the teacher. Failure of even simple communication with them results in a seemingly insurmountable problem. There have perhaps not been situations in modern education that have demanded as much patience, creativity, and ingenuity as overcoming linguistic barriers. Foreign students live through these traumatic experiences, which add more difficulty to the challenge of high-level scholastic learning. The ability to understand orders is also fundamental for coexistence because you cannot do something if a request from the teacher is not understood.

According to Dies, language, among the factors, makes the integration of immigrants so difficult because it prevents learning and communication with the rest of the students and professors, causing these students to fall behind in class. Ignorance of the language produces similar effects to those which the construction of the Tower of Babel symbolizes. Although the immigrant student who does not know the language quickly learns the necessary words to communicate something with one's schoolmates, the student needs to be able to handle micro and macro linguistic structures, like a coherent group of connected propositions that carry out the entire meaning of the message, to be able to progress in school.

Specialist psycho-pedagogues in this matter consider these following steps to be fundamental:

- The knowledge of the meaning of words and their connection with the immigrant student's inner-lexicon that the immigrant student posseses.
- The ability to identify the main ideas that are going to comprise the comprehensive macrostructure.
- The integration, hierarchy, and globalization of ideas according to its relations and connections.

This instrumental process is necessary for all students, including the native ones, but much more for those who are incorporated into the schooling center without knowing the language. We cannot fall into the error of thinking that because an immigrant student learns certain words from class, or is able to use them in a correct way to coexist with classmates, that they already dominate the language sufficiently as a basic tool for all its curricular processes. The scholastic organization and the selection of didactic strategies for immigrant students must follow up on this process of comprehension. A book, a work of art, norms of coexistence, a game in the recreation time, are full of messages that send an emitter to a receiver and must be understood and interpreted in determined social environments.

Language as an Element of Group Identity and Interculturality

Many non-native groups are locked under the common denomination of being immigrants. However, many factors fragment that apparent association so that they frequently have little in common. The use of the same language acts as a catalyst element that unites everyone who uses it, while separating them from strangers.

In many cases, especially among Latin Americans, this factor is a determinant as far as what country to go to. According to a Bustos' study referring to Chilean immigrants, the principle reason why 39.3% chose Spain as their new country is because Spanish (Castilian) is spoken. One who participated in this survey said, "I loved the idea that I could improve my language skills, since I always liked Spanish and Literature classes in school. I even believed that my children could speak better than we did because we are in Spain." Along with language, there are other cultural similarities like history, traditions, hymns, and celebrations. All of these elements help a group adjust to the country to which they have arrived, and be inserted into networks of communication, coexistence, and aid.

In many cities, especially those in which the number of immigrants is high, there seems to be set places, days, and times to meet with those of their own country. They share the adventures of immigration and suggest solutions to solve work, house, health, and school problems. These meetings create intense bonds, conditioning these immigrants to face a new kind of life.

Members of these groups share celebrations, dinners, songs, games, and converse about news of their country. Usage of the same language makes these encounters possible, and becomes the common soul of the meetings and coexistence. If there are students that speak a different language in class, they tend to get together, which causes the rest of the students to accuse them of isolating themselves, even though that is not always the intention.

Interculturality includes not only living physically together, but also sharing a culture; having concordant cognitive, affective, and operative axes. Those are the three main components of semantic and pragmatic expression. According to communication science:

- World-visions correspond to the set of beliefs on nature and purpose of life.
- The norms related to beliefs and public behavior are what constitute a "good person" in a particular context.
- Groups adopt codes, or sets of verbal and nonverbal systems of communication, to determine their actions and behaviors.

Using these factors one can draw up a continuous degree of interculturality which would make it possible to relate and to maintain a common scope of participation and encounters, always respecting the group's independence.

Language as an Expression of Stereotype and Social Cataloguing

Stereotypes and prejudices are conditions previous to discriminatory actions. The stereotype is a cognitive structure, which contains concepts, beliefs, feelings, and expectations of a determined group. By finding salient and common characteristics among members of a group, stereotypes simplify, facilitate, and speed up references to that group's reality, thereby regulating strictly individual characteristics. An example would be to consider all Moroccans as aggressive if one is seen acting as such, without ulterior investigation or taking into account the circumstances of the given situation.

The selected characteristics are attributed in a hereditary way in which an individual can be identified in this category. This alleviates the burden of having to prove the opposite of that individual. Such pre-judgment catalogues an individual in case the person of the other group lacks the proper experience necessary to evaluate the person. When associations of a quality or conduct with a determined category of people are established, those associations convert into permanent verbal labels, in order to simplify the judgment process. These terms pre-judgment and prejudice, sometimes used indifferently, have in common that they are engendered due to a lack of previous contact with the discriminated group. Pre-judgment is modifiable, whereas prejudice displays much more resistance to change.

Language is the vehicle for cataloguing, stereotype, and prejudice, while at the same time it also serves as communication with others. It becomes a symbol for the cognitive and affective orientation that condenses the ethos, (customs), logos (thought), pathos (feelings), and elpís (expected behavior of someone else). Verbal insult is the most frequent form of aggression. According to studies, native and foreign students equally exchange insults. The violent forms of speaking are very diverse. Attempts to mark differences that do not exist, like the expressions: "they are different, aggressive, violent, abnormal, and behind; they do not care about studying, do not look like us," etc., also constitute violent speech. Other insults follow: "they are dirty, filthy, treacherous, ugly, and illiterate; they are rapists, loafers, onlookers, dealers," etc. Finally, certain crimes are attributed to different groups: "Colombians are dealers, Black women are sluts, Moroccans are terrorists, Moors are treacherous, Eastern Europeans are mobsters, Blacks carry diseases, gypsies traffic drugs," etc. This immediately opens a passage for violence.

Ideas, words, and attitudes act as the diverse layers of an onion; they form, support, and protect each other, creating a unit difficult to eradicate. Some words like Nazi, gypsy, red, and Moor, are converted into stereotypes which carry great emotional loads, creating responses of phobias and prejudice that are very difficult to transform. It is as Einstein said; an atom can be destroyed easier than prejudice.

The Use of One's Own Language as Self-Defense

The use of one's own language turns into a chaos of self-defense among those that know it. They use it against those who do not, which greatly irritates them and leads them to believe they are always saying something bad about them. This is how a language becomes a barrier of protection, incapable of being jumped over by those who do not know it. This makes the natives very angry due to their feeling of ownership of the territory. Just the mere fact of using another language is seen as profanity. Logically, this discomfort increases with accusations from the natives who complain that the natives do not accept their customs, which takes away their identity.

Let us see some frequent expressions and testimonies of Spaniard students faced with classmates who speak to them in a foreign language. The question to which these students responded is: "What is it that bothers you the most about foreigners?"

"They insult us without our knowing it. They start fights. They insult us in their language. They are always speaking in Arab and we cannot understand a word. They say words in Moroccan and are probably insulting us. They take advantage that we do not know their language. They use big words in their language. I do not like that they use their language in Spain. They speak and I move away. They immediately learn to insult in Spanish. When they speak in their language I feel like they insult me. They are talking about you and you do not know what they are saying. They speak in their language to isolate themselves. They can say anything. When they feel like it, they pretend like they do not understand what you are saying they can be calling you all sorts of names. They teach you insults in Moroccan. You never know if they are insulting or complementing you when they speak in their language. They can be using big words. Maybe they are insulting. They always speak in their language when they fight. What are they saying? That bothers us a lot. All they learn in Spanish are insults. You hear them speak their language and get nothing out of it."

This attitude is more irritating when they know Spanish, yet they do not use it. This conduct is quite natural, but it gives an opportunity to think badly of them, or at least, places those who do not know the language in a very uncomfortable position, isolated, with negative expectations.

José Luis Calvo Buezas is a professor at the Institute of Secondary Education, Oviedo (Asturias), Spain.

The Chicano Movement: Dead or Alive?
Analysis of the political, historical evolution spanning four and a half decades of the Mexican community in the United States is the focus of this chapter. The major question is if the Chicano movement is dead or alive?

The Chicano Movement: Dead or Alive?

José Ángel Gutiérrez

The continuous social upheaval caused by persons of Mexican ancestry in the United States of America, beginning in the 1960s, was a classic social movement called the Chicano Movement by its participants. The main geographic location for the various struggles was primarily the Southwest and select areas in the Midwest. The major participants were young people, women, and seasonal, agricultural workers. The major objectives were inclusion as first class citizens with improvement in their quality of life beginning with income, education, and voting rights. The stages of development of the Chicano Movement were oppositional consciousness (late 1950s); leadership renewal (early 1960s); rejection of unidirectional assimilation (mid-1960s); Chicano nationalism (late 1960s); and organizational and nation building (post-1960s and the 1970s). By the 1980s, Chicanos had competition from their offspring; new Mexican immigrants; other immigrants from the Caribbean, Central, and South

America; and other non-American immigrants from Asia, Africa, and the Middle East.

Analysis of the political, historical evolution spanning four and a half decades of the Mexican community in the United States is the focus of this chapter. The major question is if the Chicano movement is dead or alive.

Social Movements: The Chicano Movement Ignored

Scholars have long debated an overarching definition of a social movement (SM) and sought theoretical underpinnings with which to frame the phenomenon. Over time, the intellectual pursuits for definition and theory have produced various contributions. Work in this regard, particularly seeking to understand social movements occurring in the United States, have centered mainly on labor unrest, women suffrage, black civil rights, environment, poverty and the lower class, and minority group struggles during the past century.[footnote]
See for example, the classic work of Frances Piven and Richard Cloward, *Poor People's Movements,* New York: Vintage, 1979 that combines analyses for poor people of various races; however no such investigation included the Chicano Movement.

Generally speaking, various scholars have defined SM's as collective ventures seeking change to the status quo. SM's exhibit conditions of unrest that lead to coalescing forces into action and solidarity. SM's rely on protest and disruption as primary tools for challenges to the status quo that create temporary public spaces. SM's use culturally resonant, action-oriented symbols while engaged in sustained interaction and contentious politics with opponents. The SM's are informal networks based on shared beliefs and solidarity, which mobilized around conflictual issues through frequent use of various forms of protest.[footnote]
For a collage of definitions of SM's see such works as H. Blumer, "Collective behavior," in A. McChung-Lee, ed., *Principles of Sociology,* New York: Barnes and Noble, 1969, p.99; R. Eyerman and A. Jamison, *Social Movements: A Cognitive Approach,* Cambridge: Polity, 1991, p.4; Sidney Tarrow, *Power in Movement,* Cambridge: Cambridge University

Press, 1998, p.2; and, D. Della Porta and m. diani, *Social Movements: An Introduction*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1999, p.16.

Among the useful and recent theories propounded by scholars to examine SM's in the U.S., there have been the collective behavior of the disaffected and marginalized, rational actor models, and exchange relations involving resource mobilization.[footnote] Taken together, however, the definitions and theories have not examined or been applied to the Chicano Movement of the late 1960s. Works on farm worker labor movements in the U.S. stopped short of including the efforts of the United Farm Workers and Cesar E. Chavez.[footnote]
Respectively, see C. Tilley, *From Mobilization to Revolution*, Reading, PA; Addison-Wesley, 1978; J. Elster, *Nuts and Bolts for the Social Sciences*, Cambrdge: Cambridge University Press, 1989; and, A. Oberschall, *Social Conflict and Social Movements*, Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice hall, 1973. C. Jenkins and C. Perrow, "Insurgency of the powerlessness farm worker movements (1946-1972)," *American Sociological Review*, 42 (2): 244-68.

The concern here is neither with an overarching definition nor a theoretical framework. Rather, the concern is with describing the evolution of the Chicano Movement and analyzing its trajectory.

Brief History of Mexicans in North America

The Spanish conquest promoted by Charles V, King of Spain, created a new race of people in the Americas, neither Spanish, African, nor Indigenous, but a hybrid group, a bi-racial confluence of civilizations. From these mixed racial groups and cultures were bred the *Mestizos*, later to be self-identified in Mexico as *Mexicanos*. Other *mestizos* in the Americas chose various names, usually a label depicting national origin. *Mestizos*, however, are indigenous and native to the Americas. All other groups such as, European-Americans, African-Americans, and Asian- Americans, and including those today referred to as the native peoples, Indians, are immigrants.

The Spanish conquest also created and occupied space from one tip to another of the Americas, present day Alaska to *Punta del Fuego* and *Las Islas Malvinas*. Britain also began a conquest and colonization of the North

American continent starting in the Northeast corner facing the Atlantic. The British and their colonists, later to be self-named Americans, began a campaign of genocide of Indian clans, groups, and tribes from their homelands. Indians were driven westward and southward creating space for the formation of the original thirteen American colonies. These colonies soon rebelled and proclaimed independence from England.

With the independence movements in the Americas beginning in the late 1700s to the early 1800s, Spain lost most of the mini-Spains in the Americas and Caribbean, including Mexico. Napoleon Bonaparte, and his brother Joseph, who was sitting on the Spanish throne, dismembered part of the Spanish lands by "selling" the Louisiana Purchase (land west of the Floridas, north to Lake Michigan along the Mississippi River, south to the *Texas-Coahuila* border with the present day state of Louisiana) to the United States of America in 1803-1805. By 1820, an emerging Mexico under the dictatorship of Augustin Iturbide debated and struggled within itself for a form of government: centralism or federalism. Within a decade and a half of this raging controversy in Mexico, the United States of America sponsored intervention and insurrection in *Texas-Coahuila*. Primarily, Anglos from Kentucky, Tennessee, and Georgia rushed into *Texas-Coahuila* seeking free land offered by the Mexican government to qualified *empresarios* in exchange for loyalty to Mexico, the Catholic faith, and exclusion of African slaves. These illegal Anglo trespassers were not *empresarios* and did not make or keep such promises. Instead, they rebelled, brought African slaves, and proclaimed independence from Mexico. They eventually obtained military, political, and legal control of these lands by duress from prisoner of war, Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna, President and Commander-in-Chief of the Mexican troops. Santa Anna attempted to rid Mexico of these foreigners coming from the United States of America, but lost a decisive battle at San Jacinto, near present day Houston, Texas, in March 1835. Rebel General Sam Houston, later to become the first President of the Republic of Texas, captured him. Houston coerced Santa Anna to order the remaining Mexican troops back to Mexico and sign Texas over to the new Republic of Texas under terms of the Treaty of Velasco. Santa Anna, as a prisoner of war, was then taken to Washington, D.C. and kept under house arrest for nine months during which time President Andrew Jackson unsuccessfully attempted to persuade him to sell

California to the United States of America. Ultimately, Santa Anna was allowed free passage back to Mexico. He became president once again. The U.S. continued to press Mexico to sell its northern borderlands, the Southwest. Meanwhile, in 1845, the United States of America annexed Texas as a state. By then, the African slave population reached 28 percent of the total population in Texas. In 1846, the U.S. invaded Mexican territory and Santa Anna once again was forced by the U.S. government to sign a treaty, The treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, in 1848 ceding not only California but also Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, Nevada, Oklahoma, Kansas, Missouri, parts of Utah, Montana, Washington, Oregon, and the entire Southwest, a total of 918,000,000 square miles. The Mexican people in the Americas became the first dismembered nation, divided to this day between those relatives and families in the U.S. and those in Mexico. Mexicans became a foreign minority in their own homeland.

The first Mexican diaspora from its northern borders began in 1846 to 1848. The U.S. occupation forces and the subsequent discovery of gold in California brought hundreds of thousands of Anglo fortune hunters who took the land from the Spanish *ricos* and Mexicans. The same pattern was repeated across the Southwest. The Anglos moving in with the backing of the U.S. government took the land from the Spanish *ricos* and Mexicans. The Mexican population lost its homeland. Those that remained in the Southwest after 1848 became a marginalized minority and ostracized mongrel race, remaining landless and powerless under the gun. Approximately 88,000 to 100,000 Mexicans and Spanish *ricos* resided in the Southwest by 1850. In 1853, the U.S. pressured Mexico into selling a small portion of the borderlands between Tucson, Arizona and Sonora, Mexico; the exchange was named the Gadsden Purchase.

While the U.S. was busy with its own civil war in 1860, France seized the opportunity of a defeated and weakened Mexico to invade in 1862. Eventually Mexican President Benito Juarez was able to rid Mexico of the French, but only to open the door to the dictatorship of Porfirio Diaz (1876) who ruled Mexico until November 1910. The violent phase of the Mexican Revolution of 1910 lasted until 1930. This unstable and dangerous political situation created the conditions for a second Mexican diaspora away from

Mexico and relocation of Mexicans back to their occupied homeland in the U.S. [footnote]

There are many historical survey texts on this entire period written by Mexican, Anglo American, and Chicano authors, each with unique perspectives. Common to Mexican texts is acknowledgment that more than half of the Mexican territory was lost to the U.S.A between 1835 and 1848, plus an additional part of southern Arizona, El Valle de la Mesilla, in 1853 (Gadsden Purchase). Missing in these Mexican texts however is a complete absence of the plight of the Mexican people abandoned in the lost lands. Anglo writers typically justify the land theft and occupation on divine intervention, god made them to do it to make the land productive and fulfill their destiny as a great race of people. White nationalism was born during this early period and remains a viable ideology in this 21st century. White people generally believe the U.S.A. was meant to be a white nation and should remain so. Chicano authors, on the other hand, attempt to describe the context and socio-political conditions of Mexicans remaining in the lost homeland. Some basic works from these three sources include Victor Alba, *The Mexicans: The Making of a Nation,* New York: Pegasus edition translated into English, 1970; Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism*, Cambridge Harvard University, 1981; and the pioneering work of the Chicano historian, Rodolfo Acuna, *Occupied America: The Chicano's Struggle Toward Liberation,* New York, Canfield Press Harper and Row, 1972.A most recent revisionist Chicano political history text is Armando Navarro, *Mexicano Political Experience in Occupied Aztlan; Struggle and Change,* Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press Rowman & Littlefield, 2005.

White Supremacy in the United States and the Americas

The origins of White supremacy are rooted in the construction of a national identity in the U.S. grounded on the notions of a liberal democracy sponsored by Anglo Saxons. This national identity assumed a White nation free of Indians[footnote] and Mexicans but dependent on African slave labor. White supremacists did not see a contradiction in espousing racial superiority and non-White primitivism. The four rest posts of this contradiction made for a racist ideology: social Darwinism; White privilege; liberal democracy for Whites; and Protestantism. Herbert

Spencer's phrase, "survival of the fittest," was adapted from the animal kingdom to fit Whites. How else to explain their progress and qualifications for global leadership? White privilege was made possible by the tenets of a liberal democracy mostly benefiting only White males with property. The "rule of law" was extended only to those White males who could afford the benefits of such a system. Justice, freedom, democracy, equality, and equity were espoused but made costly principles to acquire. Protestantism has emphasized the work ethic and has equated richness with godliness; affluence with providence; and, progress with destiny. These national views not only became the hegemonic umbrella for White nationalism, but also gave rise to a global view and into foreign affairs.[footnote] The United States became a world power by the late 1940s. Mexican migrants found themselves inside the world power but with little power of their own. Mexican migrants had little power because first generation migrants—such as those that came in 1910 and subsequent decades—clung to homeland politics rather than engage in assimilationist practices.

Some vestiges of Indian hatred and expulsion are still found in antiquated laws such as in Boston, Massachusetts which prohibited Indians from setting foot in the city for the past 330 years. See Theo Emery, Associated Press, "Racist 1675 law reprealed in Mass.," *Press Telegram*, May 21, 2005, p. A17.

Paul McCartney, "Anglo-Saxonism and U.S. Foreign Policy during the Spanish-American War," in Thomas Ambrosio, ed., *Ethnic Identity Groups and U.S. Foreign Policy*, Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 2002.

In the 1940s several major events took place that prompted a break with the homeland politics of Mexicans. First, the numbers of Mexicans residing in the United States exceeded 3 million; not all concentrated along the border but some congregated in major urban centers in the country. Second and third generation Mexican-Americans were now among the population and some espoused the liberal democratic agenda as their own, not Mexican homeland politics. The first of several Mexican-American civil rights organizations were formed by this decade. Generational politics became a traceable pattern among persons of Mexican ancestry[footnote] (See Appendix 1.) Second, the U.S. government and Mexico implemented the Bracero Program, an emergency war measure of 1947, which brought hundreds of thousands more Mexicans into the U.S. and began the addiction

to cheap labor that remains today. The Bracero Program finally ended in 1964, almost two decades later.[footnote] Many tenets of this program have been proposed in the various immigration bills passed by the U.S. Congress in past decades. Third, the U.S. Census Bureau racially re-classified the Mexican population from "Other Race" to "Caucasian" in 1940. Voting rights were expanded with the elimination of the White Primary.[footnote] The Unit Rule[footnote] and Poll Tax[footnote] remained as serious impediments to the budding Chicano civic engagement. Segregation that had been implemented in the Southern states since Reconstruction[footnote] was ripe for attack by Chicano civil rights organizations. The first social protests against school segregation and discrimination in public places began to be reported across the Southwest and Midwest.[footnote] Fourth, World War II made military service compulsory for residents, consequently, thousands of Mexican-American youth became veterans. The subsequent rewards for military personnel were educational and housing loans and employment. The "G.I. Bill," as it was known, helped to make a Mexican-American middle class.[footnote]

See various sources that detail and analyze this organizational development and era such as Ignacio M. Garcia, *Hector P. Garcia: In Relentless Pursuit of Justice,* Houston: Arte Publico Press, 2002; Henry J. Ramos, *The American G.I.Forum: In Pursuit of a Dream,* Houston: Arte Publico Press, 1999; Carl Allsup, *The American G.I. Forum: Origins and Evolution,* Austin: Center for Mexican American Studies, 1982; Benjamin Marquez, *LULAC: The Evolution of a Mexican American Political Organization,* Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1993; Thomas H. Kreneck, *Mexican American Odyssey: Felix Tijerina, Entrepreneur and Civil Rights Leader, 1905-1965,* College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 2001; and, for the era, Mario T. Garcia, *Mexican Americans: Leadership, Ideology, and Identity, 1930-1960,* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989..

An early work on the Mexican laborer in the U.S. was Manuel Gamio, *The Mexican Immigrant, His Life Story,* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931 and subsequent work by a labor organizer turned academic on *Braceros* was Ernesto Galarza, *Strangers in Our Fields,* Washington, D.C.: Joint United States-Mexico Trade Union Committee, 1956 and *Spiders in the House & Workers in the Field,* Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1970..

The Democratic Party in Texas, instituted a whites-only requirement as a prerequisite for registering to vote in the Primary election in which candidates seek to obtain a majority of the votes cast to become the nominee in the General Election held every two years in November of even-numbered years.

The Unit Rule adp[ted by the Democratic Party in Southern states required the losing minority votes to be added to the winning majority votes and cast as a total for the nominee elected at state conventions for president.

The Poll Tax was a tax of $1.75 per person levied as a prerequisite for registering to vote in Southern States.

Immediately after the Civil War of 1860 the northern troops occupied and restored order in the Southern states. This era is known as Reconstruction. African slaves were emancipated and allowed to vote, own property, and attend public schools.

For a history of Chicano legal challenges to segregated schools see Guadalupe San Miguel, *"Let Them AL Take Heed,": Mexican Americans and the Campaign for Educational Equalityi n Texas, 1910-1981*, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1987.

For a depiction of Mexican American military heroes see Raul Morin, *Among the Valiant: Mexican Americans in World War II and Korea*, Los Angeles: Borden, 1963.

During the early 1950s, Dwight D. Eisenhower became president and appointed Joseph Swing to head the Immigration Naturalization Service (INS). The INS included oversight of both the naturalization process and border security by the Border Patrol known by Mexicans and other immigrants as *la migra*. Swing, as a young lieutenant, had served under General Jack Pershing. Francisco "Pancho" Villa invaded the U.S. at Columbus, New Mexico during the Mexican Revolution and Pershing and Swing unsuccessfully pursued Villa's army until the outbreak of World War I. As INS Commissioner, Swing had his opportunity to hunt and catch Mexicans with his program, "Operation Wetback," which the U.S. government initiated in 1954. This military operation deported millions of Mexicans, including many who were U.S. citizens by birth and naturalization.[footnote] Immigration was seen as a military and police matter by U.S. officials and not a social, political, or economic issue. The U.S. viewed immigration policy first militarily, then as a security issue for

the U.S.-Mexico borderlands.[footnote] It equates the search for a livelihood with terrorism.
Juan Ramon Garcia, *Operation Wetback: The Mass Deportation of Mexican Undocumented Workers in 1954,* Westport: Greenwood Press, 1980.
Thomas J. Dunn, *The Militarization of the U.S.-Mexico Border, 1978-1992: Low-Intensity Conflict Doctrine Comes Home,* Austin: Center for Mexican American Studies, 1996.

In 1960, John Kennedy sought the presidency and Mexican-Americans rallied to his campaign by organizing Viva Kennedy Clubs across the Southwest and Midwest.[footnote] The Viva Kennedy Clubs helped elect him president. The Clubs disbanded but re-organized into the Mexican American Political Association (MAPA in California) and the Political Association of Spanish Speaking Organizations (PASO in Texas). These political organizations were responsible for several major transformations of Mexican-American politics. First, they engaged in grassroots organizing among Mexican-Americans in the Southwest and Midwest for electoral purposes. My hometown of Crystal City was among the first communities to elect an all-Chicano city council in 1963. From the Anglo politicians that PASO and MAPA supported with their work and votes, they obtained concessions, usually of appointments to high public office.[footnote] The Poll Tax was eliminated in 1966. Second, these organizations encouraged local Mexican- Americans to seek public office.[footnote] For a number of decades the total figures for Mexican- American elected officials has grown and expanded from the borderlands into major metropolitan areas such as Chicago, Denver, Dallas, Los Angeles, Milwaukee, and Lansing, Michigan, for example. Recent mayoral elections in Los Angeles (Antonio Villaraigosa) and San Antonio (Julian Castro) are cases in point. According to the National Association of Latino Elected Officials (NALEO), these numbers near 6,000, and include an unprecedented two U.S. Senators. The last time an Hispanic was elected U.S. Senator was 1970-1976 which was Joseph Montoya, Democrat from the state of New Mexico. Third, coalitions and alliances with organized labor, Anglo liberals, and African-Americans made for successful strategies on issues and candidacies. Over time, the various coalitions and alliances have ended but the electoral power of the combined Chicano and Latino communities continues to grow.[footnote]

Ignacio M. Garcia, *Viva Kennedy: Mexican Americans in Search of Camelot*, College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 2000.
For a biography of the first Mexican American federal judge appointed by President John F. Kennedy see Louise Ann Pisch, *All Rise: Reynaldo G. Garza, the First Mexican American Federal Judge*, College Station, Texas A & M University Press, 1989.
An example of a local effort by PASO in my hometown see John Staples Shockley, *Chicano Revolt in a Texas Town*, Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1974.
Some critical work is emerging challenging the notion that Latinos and Blacks have similar interests. See Nicolas Vaca, *The Presumed Alliance: Black and Brown Relations*, New York: Rayo HarperCollins, 2004.

The Beginnings of the Chicano Movement

By the mid-1960s the presence of 3rd and 4th generation young adults of Mexican ancestry made themselves known by their challenges to established ideas and leadership. The leadership of earlier generations in LULAC and the American G. I. Forum was too conservative for the young. Organizations formed in earlier decades were questioned as to the logic behind excluding membership from the poor, particularly farm workers, the non-citizen, women, and the youth under the age of twenty-one. The younger people disagreed with their grandparents that old-style homeland politics were of primary importance and also disagreed with their parents that assimilation into Anglo culture was the most preferred ideology.

The early stirrings of social protest came from two movements led by Cesar E. Chavez in California and Reies Lopez Tijerina in New Mexico. [footnote] Chavez organized farm workers and engaged in labor strikes, consumer boycotts of products, and demonstrations of group power such as marches, pickets, rallies, and speech-making at various venues. He was jailed on several occasions for several violations involving his protests. Chavez personally engaged in several hunger strikes that ruined his health. The farm worker movement developed its own newspaper, *El Malcriado*, and guerrilla theatre, *Teatro Campesino*. Even though this SM was focused on labor issues, it employed culturally relevant symbols to identify it as a Chicano-based effort. Chavez publicly proclaimed himself to be a Chicano.

Their colors were red and black. The union symbol was a rising Phoenix-like Thunderbird. The religious icon, *La Virgen Guadalupe*, was ubiquitous at all public gatherings and even political buttons. Cesar Chavez became the most well known, nationally and internationally, of the emerging Chicano leaders by the early 1970s. Dolores Huerta, a co-leader with Chavez, was equally important in the organization and development of the farm worker union but her contributions were overshadowed by the attention given to Chavez. [footnote] Women have always done tremendous work in organizing, defending, and advocating for *La Raza* but seldom receive credit for their contributions.

There are several sources of biographical material on these individuals and their organizations. Among the more recent works are Richard Griswold del Castillo, *Cesar Chavez: A Struggle for Justice*, Houston: Arte Publico Press, 2002; Richard Griswold del Castillo and Richard A. Garcia, *Cesar Chavez: A Triumph of Spirit*, Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1996; Jose Angel Gutierrez as translator and editor of Reies Lopez Tijerina's autobiography, *They Called Me 'King Tiger': My Struggle for the Land and Our Rights*, Houston: Arte Publico Press, 2002.

For a brief profile of Dolores Huerta see Cathleen Roundtree, *ON Women Turning 50*, San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1993, pps. 127-133.

Reies Lopez Tijerina, while on a proselytizing mission for his brand of religion, learned of the land grant struggles in New Mexico. He termed this SM the Land Recovery Movement and called his organization *La Alianza de Pueblos Libres*. Tijerina resurrected the Chicano birthrights to a homeland within the United States. He proclaimed the land had been stolen from *Indo-Hispanos*, his term for Chicanos, hybrids of Spanish and Indian bloodlines. Tijerina, like Chavez, organized public demonstrations, walked hundreds of miles in marches, gathered petitions for mailing to Anglo public officials, maintained weekly radio programs and regular newsprint stories in Spanish, and held massive gatherings at public lands, such as national forests and historical sites to claim these places as the occupied homeland.

While Chavez embraced non-violence and passive resistance in the face of police, agricultural grower, and Teamster union aggression, Tijerina took direct action against such entities. Tijerina claimed the various state and

federal constitutions gave *Indo-Hispanos* the right to make citizens' arrests of those violating laws and treaties. [footnote] He claimed that the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and Spain's *Leyes de las Indias* gave *Indo-Hispanos* inviolate rights to culture, land, and heritage. And, he went in pursuit of those he deemed must be arrested and tried: scientists at Los Alamos Atomic Laboratory in New Mexico and Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, Warren E. Burger (1969), in Washington, D.C., for example. He collaborated with Martin Luther King, Jr. in developing the Poor People's Campaign [footnote] and formed alliances and coalitions with *Indios* in New Mexico and other states.

Various state constitutions the U.S. Constitution, and Anglo-Saxon common law place an affirmative duty on citizens to make arrests of those violating the law and also to assist police in arresting those who have broken the law. Martin Luther King Jr. envisioned a national campaign based not only on the plight of African Americans but also all other poor people. In 1968 he organized a massive demonstration involving a camp-in at the Washington Monument by the poor of the U.S. known as Tent City. Chicanos, Indians, poor whites, and other minorities joined in this effort.

Both Chavez and Tijerina internationalized the Chicano Movement in that they traveled outside the United States to publicize their SM's and seek support for their causes. Tijerina went one step further and engaged in research of land titles and grants in Spain and Mexico for his case against the U.S. He unsuccessfully pressured countries, such as Spain and Mexico, and international bodies, such as the United Nations and the Organization of American States, to present the Indo-Hispano claim to a homeland within the U.S.

For his many physical confrontations with U.S. authorities, both state and federal, Tijerina was jailed repeatedly and finally imprisoned for several years in the federal penitentiary. Imprisonment led to his demise as a civil rights leader given the conditions of parole which included he could not speak about or lead any organization that addressed land grant issues.

The Chicano Movement in the 1970s and 1980s

Chavez and Tijerina commanded the most attention from all sectors during the 1960s. By the following decade, women and youth of Mexican ancestry had fully joined the universe of SMs and emerging organizations. Chicanas tired of male-centered leadership and social dominance. Some women, of course, had been involved with both the farm workers and the land recovery movement, but most were not. Chicanas sought a feminine-centered SM and organization, which they found in the *Comicion Femenil* , the organization that took place around school boycotts and strikes, the formation of La Raza Unida Party, and the International Year of the Woman. Many Chicanas exhibited leadership and accomplished major reforms during these two decades but none became as known as the emerging male Chicano leaders.

Youth, usually males, gravitated between two protest scenarios: schools and urban cities. In Los Angeles, California, a young teacher, Salvador Castro, encouraged and supported his Chicano students at Lincoln Heights High School to protest conditions and the lack of educational opportunity for them in 1968.[footnote] Under the organizational name of the Mexican American Youth Organization (MAYO), others and I organized and engaged in the very same types of school protests in Texas at the same time. [footnote] The basic Chicano demands of the school authorities were bilingual education; hiring more Chicano teachers, counselors, and administrators; a more relevant and multicultural curriculum; dismissal of racist teachers and staff; and direct student elections of school favorites. A commercial film venture on the life of Sal Castro is underway at this writing. Semi-annually Sal Castro raises money with which to host 300-400 Los Angeles- *barrio* high school students at a weekend retreat at Camp Hess Kramer just north of Malibu beach in California. This retreat is basically a Chicano culture camp that exposes young students to the Chicano Movement and the contributions of other Latinos. I attended the May 2005 retreat along with actor Edward James Olmos, filmmaker Jesus Trevino, professors Rodolfo Acuna and Britt Rios-Ellis, and other notables. Armando Navarro, *Mexican American Youth Organization: Avant-Garde of the Chicano Movement in Texas,* Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995.

After various unsuccessful school protests in Texas, MAYO changed tactics and strategy. Parents were recruited to be more than supporters and a

political party. La Raza Unida was organized in 1970 to contest elections, including seats on school boards. [footnote] This development implemented a resolution passed at the 1968 Chicano Youth Liberation Conference held in Denver, Colorado, by the Crusade for Justice, [footnote] led by Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales. The resolution called for the formation of an independent political party for La Raza.

Several works are available on La Raza Unida Party beginning with an early monograph by Richard Santillan, *La Raza Unida*, Los Angeles: Tlaquilo Publications, 1973; Ignacio M. Garcia's two related books, *United We Win: The Rise and Fall of the Raza Unida Party,* Tucson: Mexican American Studies and Research Center, 1989 and *Chicanismo: The Forging of a Militant Ethos,* Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1997; and Armando Navarro, *La Raza Unida Party: A Chicano Challenge to the U.S. Two-Party Dictatorship,* Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2000. There is less material available on the Crusade for Justice and Gonzales than others but a recent work is Ernesto B. Vigil, *The Crusade for Justice: Chicano Militancy and the Government's War on Dissent,* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1999.

Gonzales became the voice and *persona* for urban Chicano youth across the country that searched, as he did, to understand our indigenous cultural heritage, learn Spanish, and formulate an ideology based on Chicano nationalism. Corky—a nickname from his boxing days—organized these youth liberation conferences for several years and also participated in the Poor People's Campaign. He forged alliances with the American Indian Movement (AIM) and the Puerto Rican youth group, The Young Lords, based in Chicago and New York. And he published *Yo Soy Joaquin* , an epic poem about the history of Chicanos. [footnote]

Some of his writings are found in his book, *Message to Aztlan,* Houston: Arte Publico Press, 2003 and an summary of a thesis by Cristine Marin, *A Spokesman of the Mexican American Movement: Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales and the Fight for Chicano Liberation,1966-1972,* San Francisco: R and E Associates, 1977

The four of us, Chavez, Tijerina, Gonzales, and I, propelled the Chicano Movement from the late 1960s to the early 1980s, each with our separate approaches and agendas; each in a specific geographic area of the

Southwest. Together, we provided the leadership for our Chicano generation that engaged in nation building: the creation of Aztlan, a mini-nation within a nation. [footnote] Chicanos organized the many national organizations present today, such as the National Council of La Raza (NCLR), the Southwest Voter Registration and Education Program (SWVREP), Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF), National Association of Latino Elected Officials (NALEO), for example. Regionally, many other Chicano groups formally organized affiliates and related organizations and programs to further Chicano nationalism. Professional organizations also emerged to focus on specialized concerns and interests of Chicanos, such as the National Association of Chicana and Chicano Studies (NACCS), *Colegio Cesar Chavez* and the National Hispanic University, National Association of Bilingual Educators (NABE), and NOSOTROS, the organization of Chicano actors and entertainers.

Aztlan (Nahuatl language) was the mythical name given to the place of origin for the Mechicanos (Aztecs) before they migrated south to found Tenochitlan (Mexico City). Tenochitlan was the Aztec capital invaded and conquered by Hernan Cortes.

Chavez continued to build his farm worker union in California with less attention given to other parts of the country seeking unionization such as Texas, Wisconsin, Arizona, Ohio, and Florida. An independent farm worker union formed in those states under the leadership of regional leaders such as Antonio Orendain in Texas, Baldemar Huerta in Ohio, Luis Diaz de Leon, Jr. in Florida, and Jesus Salas in Wisconsin. Tijerina went to prison for destruction of federal property but was acquitted for the raid on the Tierra Amarilla courthouse. His absence while in prison led to the demise of the Land Recovery Movement. Gonzales and I vied for the national leadership position of the Raza Unida Party in 1972. I won and Gonzales dropped from the national scene. Later, he was involved in a car accident that left him with serious physical impairments. By 1978 the Raza Unida Party had lost ballot status in Texas and never gained such in other states. The electoral thrust of the party was waning and died by the early 1980s when the last officeholders sought re-election as Democrats. I did not complete my elected, second, four-year term as County Judge for Zavala County, Texas and relocated to Oregon in 1981. While in Oregon I engaged in

organizing several organizations and programs and returned to Texas in 1986 to pursue a law degree.

Cuban refugees began arriving in the U.S., mainly Florida, in the mid-1960s. Central Americans began arriving in the U.S. shortly after President Ronald Reagan's military intervention in those countries in the 1980s. Mexican immigration continued unabated into the 1990s. In decades past, the overwhelming numbers of Mexican-Americans overshadowed Puerto Ricans and Cubans. By the 1990s, however, the number of Mexican-Americans began to decline as a percentage of the whole. In 2000, the numbers of Hispanics reached 35 million plus, and of these only 20.6 million were of Mexican ancestry representing only 58.5% of the total number of Hispanics. Puerto Ricans, the second oldest group with a presence in the U.S. next to Mexicans, numbered 3.4 million and Cubans reached 1.24 million. The Central Americans that began to arrive two and a half decades ago reached 1.68 million and South Americans numbered 1.35 million. All of these other Hispanics number 15 million persons. Clearly, when the difference between the 20.6 million of Mexican ancestry and the 15 million other Hispanics became only 5 million, this was a new reality.
[footnote]
See Table 1.1 Hispanic Population by Type:2000 in Marcelo M. Suarez-Orozco and Mariela M. Paez, eds. *Latinos: Remaking America,* Berkeley: University of California Press and Cambridge: David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, Harvard University, 2002, p. 13..

Those not of Mexican ancestry resented being identified and labeled as Mexicans. They wanted their own identity, usually their nationality. But in the U.S. English-speaking, White hegemonic environment, a separate national identity is not acceptable. Race is a national fixation. Those not White compete for social space between Whites and Blacks. Latinos as hybrids are perceived both racially by phenotypic attributes and by national origin by Whites and Blacks. Under these circumstances the self-descriptive terms of Chicano and Mexicano lost favor to the U.S. government sponsored label of Hispanics. Hispanic became the official name for the Panethnic group of Spanish speakers in the U.S. Those in opposition to the term Hispanic with its clear nexus to Spain opted to call themselves Latinos. Spanish language media, print and electronic, in hopes of increased

market share have also chosen to use either or both Hispanic and Latino for group labels, dropping any reference to national origin. These new arrivals were neither invited nor recruited to join existing Chicano organizations. The CM was a social movement of the past, 30 years past at the turn of the century. The word Chicano is only used by those that still identify with the term and by organizations that have refused a name change, such as the Te *Chicanos Por La Causa* in Phoenix, Arizona.

21st Century Politics: Is the Chicano Movement Dead or Alive?

Mexicanos and *Latinos* became the largest ethnic minority group in the U.S. in the first few years of the 21 st century, surpassing African-Americans. The geographic spread of *Mexicanos* and *Latinos* is national. The fastest growing areas of population growth are Southeastern states such as Georgia, Alabama, North Carolina, and Florida. More importantly, within the Hispanic population enumerated in 2000 there are more persons under the age of 18 than over the age of 55. Those born less than 35 years ago were not present during any aspect of the Chicano Movement. Additionally, there are more foreign-born persons in the Mexicano and Latino communities than native-born persons. The foreign born, regardless of age, were not present to witness or participate in any event of the Chicano Movement. In other words, the majority of present-day Mexicanos and Latinos are disconnected from the history, leadership, and contributions made by Chicanos 35 years ago now in 2005. To many of these persons, the Chicano Movement is a historical footnote, if at all, to their present day concerns of daily life.

The "famous four" Chicano leaders are dead, dying, or not in an active leadership role. Chavez died in 1993. Gonzales died in 2005. Tijerina is very ill in Uruapan, Michoacan, Mexico with no plans to return to the U.S. I am not as active as I once was, nor am I affiliated with any national organization. Followers and supporters of the CM are also graying, ill, and dying. The generation is coming to an end.

The ideas and contributions of the Chicano generation with their nationalist SM and efforts at nation building however will remain alive for decades to come. Chicano authors and others have memorialized that era in textbooks

and curriculum. That Hispanics or Latinos will revive this SM or a similar effort remains to be seen. At present, neither Hispanics nor Latinos have produced any substantial SM of their own or built an organization. The only discernible contribution has been to change the name of organizations from Chicano to Hispanic or Latino. The other major transformation occurrence is the gender gap developing among Latinos and Latinas in educational attainment in the U.S., as in most of the industrialized world, Spain included. Basically, Latinas are out performing and out distancing their male counterparts in educational achievement at all levels, from high school to professional degrees. At this pace, Latinas will become the breadwinners, leaders, political figures, and professionals in the community. The specter of a reversal in roles from patriarchy to matriarchy within three to four decades is visible from this distance. [footnote] The destiny of Chicanos, Mexicanos, Hispanics, and Latinos in the U.S., as in other parts of the globe, will be in the hands of females in the years ahead. Perhaps, the women that take the leadership mantle in the U.S. will produce a Chicano-like generation that will paint the White House brown and become the governors and not allow being the governed evermore.

The literature on the gender gap is growing because this phenomenon applies to white, black and brown women with Asians and Indians not far behind. See Michelle Conlin, "The Gender Gap," *Business Week*, May 26, 203, pps. 75-84.

Appendix 1

Political Generations Among Persons of Mexican Ancestry in the United States, 1835-2010

- Texas Independence and Statehood: "Get Rid of the Mexicans."

During this period, White persons from Southeastern states illegally moved into Texas and promoted insurrection against the government of Mexico. Once successful in gaining Texas Independence in 1835, they were annexed by the United States in 1845. Tejanos of Mexican ancestry were violently pushed out of the state and into Mexico.

- Loss of Aztlan, the Ancient Homeland: The Second Diaspora

During this period the United States government invaded Mexico beginning in 1846 and forced the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo granting the invader half of the remaining Mexican territory, currently the Southwestern states of Arizona, New Mexico, Oklahoma, California, Nevada, Utah, Wyoming, Oregon, and parts of Washington. Persons were given until 1849 to opt for either U.S. citizenship and remain in these lands or leave for Mexico. In 1853 the United States pressured Mexico into selling the Mesilla territory, land between Tucson and the border of California, and known as the Gadsden Purchase.

- The Making of a Minority: Marginalization and Oppression

Best estimates are that between 88,000 and 100,000 persons of Mexican and Spanish descent remained in the occupied territory. These two classes were divided into the Spanish *ricos* that kept parts of their land holdings and Mexican *peones* that worked those lands. Those remaining once a majority of the population now were a minority and suffered indignities and oppression at the hands of Whites.

1910-1930* The Migrant Generation: "Going Back to Mexico Manana"

With the outbreak of the Mexican Revolution on November 20, 1910, over a million Mexicans fled into the lost homeland in the United States, relocating primarily from Brownsville, Texas to San Diego, California, waiting for the revolution to subside. They assumed return to Mexico was in the near future. Normalcy did not return to Mexican politics or social life until the early 1930s. By this decade, Mexicans in the United States numbered three million, comprised mostly of 1.5-generation foreign-born and 2nd generation U.S. born children of Mexican ancestry. These generations attempted to forge a new group identity. The League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) was founded in 1927-29. Membership in LULAC was limited to adult male U.S. citizens who could speak English.

- The Farm Worker Generation: "Going Back to the Southwest"

With three million Mexicans and their growing number of U.S. born children residing along the U.S.-Mexico border since the Mexican

Revolution, jobs were scarce. Mexican families began seeking and finding temporary agricultural work further and further away from the border during seasonal harvest times in the northern states and returning to their "temporary residences" in the Southwest. While their parents often dreamed of "returning to Mexico" these "returned to the Southwest" at the end of harvest season. The number of Mexicans in the U.S. was increased beginning in 1947 with the inception of an emergency war measure to support agricultural, forestry, fishery, and railroad interests, the *Bracero* Program. Mexican Americans, primarily returning war veterans during this era, formed two major civil rights organizations: the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) in 1927 and the American G.I. Forum in 1948. These organizations fought school segregation and sought assimilation and integration into Anglo society.

- The Chicano Generation: "This is Home"

This generation began to speak more English and less Spanish because they were integrated into Anglo schools; began to enter college and universities in greater numbers; and rejected the liberal Anglo social agenda of assimilation and integration. They also rejected the old Mexican politics of prior generations and affiliation with anything Spanish. They saw themselves as neither Mexican nor Anglicized Mexican-Americans; they called themselves Chicanos, a derivative of *Meshicano*, the ancient Aztec name. Many organizations were formed during this period emanating from their social movements, all focused on the nation-building of *Aztlan*, a nation within a nation.

- The Hispanic Generation and Other Beneficiaries

Chicanos, like other previous generations, made babies in larger numbers than Anglos or African-Americans. These babies became the beneficiaries of many of the gains made by the Chicano Movement; however, they self-identified themselves as Hispanics. Immigrants from Cuba had begun to arrive in 1960 joining Puerto Ricans, which have enjoyed an open border with the mainland since incorporation in the late 1880s and acquiring permanent U.S. citizenship in 1905. Central Americans began arriving in 1970s as U.S. military operations began in that region. These three major population groups began to coalesce and seek common ground. The

primary issue of concern became immigration policy. Major reform was made in this policy area in the 1980s that opened the door to residency and citizenship to many more persons of various Hispanic ancestries, primarily more Mexicans.

- 21st Century Panethnic Latinos: Identity Politics Re-Visited

The 2000 U.S. Census reported the presence of 30 million persons of various

Hispanic ancestries in the U.S.** Persons of Mexican ancestry were 67% of the total Hispanic population in that census enumeration. Within the first years of the decade, the major media outlets began reporting on the growing numbers of Hispanics in the U.S.; they called it the "Browning" of America. Hispanics became the largest ethnic or racial minority in the U.S., and population projections forecast that Hispanics will become a majority of the population in many cities, counties, states, and regions by 2050. Increasingly, more Hispanics and new immigrants from the Caribbean and Central and South America in search of an all encompassing ethnic identifier label prefer to call themselves Latinos.

* The use of a twenty-year span is to merge biological reproduction with the minimal age requirement for formal civic engagement such as voter registration, eligibility to hold public office, legal age to contract and marry, for example.

** Population numbers for "Hispanics" in the U.S. does not include the numbers of Puerto Ricans on the island. (Emphasis added.)

José Ángel Gutiérrez has Doctor of Philosophy and Doctor of Juris Prudence degrees and is Professor in the Department of Political Science at the University of Texas-Arlington.

The Criminal Justice System as an Assimilation Milieu for the Hispanic Immigrant
In this study, I explored the hypothesis that as an American societal institution, the criminal justice system is an important vehicle for the assimilation of Hispanic immigrants, especially second-generation children of immigrants.

The Criminal Justice System as an Assimilation Milieu for the Hispanic Immigrant

Orlando Rodríguez

In this study, I explored the hypothesis that as an American societal institution, the criminal justice system is an important vehicle for the assimilation of Hispanic immigrants, especially second-generation children of immigrants. I first examined the extent to which Hispanics, especially Hispanic immigrants, are involved in the criminal justice system as victims, arrestees, and prisoners. Hispanics are generally victimized in proportion to their representation in the population, but like Black Americans and Native Americans, they are over represented among arrestees and prisoners. Criminal justice data provide little information on the characteristics of legal or undocumented immigrants, and there is also little information on the social characteristics of undocumented immigrants. However, analysis of census data suggests that Hispanics involved in the criminal justice system are socially more similar to young native-born Hispanics, the second immigrant generation, than to immigrants. If Hispanics are overrepresented in the criminal justice system, this suggests that interactions between law enforcement officials and Hispanic victims and criminals can serve as a vehicle for assimilation, and this should manifest itself in the nature of Hispanic crime involvement. Very little research exists to verify this hypothesis, but the ethnographic gang research literature can serve as an instrument to explore Hispanic assimilation experiences in the criminal justice system.

I explored the hypothesis that the criminal justice system is an important part of the Hispanic assimilation process. In focusing on assimilation as an immigration outcome, sociology has paid little attention to the social venues in which assimilation takes place. The institutions and social group settings in which there is interaction among immigrants and between immigrants and natives produces different assimilation outcomes. It is argued below that as an important American institution, the criminal justice system routinely contains social interactions that influence immigrant assimilation into American society, especially into American-style crime and criminal justice involvement. This is especially the case for children of immigrants, the second-generation.

Although Hispanics are not the only immigrant group involved in the American criminal justice system, their predominance in recent U.S. immigration justifies examining their criminal justice experiences. By official U.S. Census count, 32.8 million Hispanic-origin persons, equivalent to 12% of the total population, resided in the U.S. in 2000. Thirty-nine percent of Hispanics in 2000 were foreign-born, 28% were native-born of foreign or mixed parentage, and the remainder (33%) were born in the United States. As 45% of the foreign-born population, Hispanics comprise the largest foreign-born group. Hispanics are also the largest "foreign stock" group, being 40% of foreign-born or native-born persons of foreign or mixed parentage (Schmidley, 2001, p. 24).

The distinction between adult immigrants and children of immigrants is very relevant to understanding criminal justice involvement. Adult immigrants are defined here as foreign-born persons who migrated after the age of 18. For the purposes of my discussion, children of immigrants are defined here as foreign-born persons under the age 18 who migrated together with, before, or after their parents, and as native-born persons under age 18 with one or two foreign-born parents. It is estimated that about 45% of U.S. Hispanics are native-born of immigrant parents. About 75% of these are under age 25 (Farley & Alba, 2002)[footnote]. Much can be added to our knowledge of

crime and justice by examining the linkage between immigration and criminal justice experiences, and by focusing on Hispanics' experiences in these two social processes.

The percentages are estimated from Farley & Alba's analysis of the characteristics of nationalities accounting for 400,000 or more first and second generation migrants. They include Puerto Ricans, but they are excluded from the estimates above.

The purpose of my discussion is to contribute to broader theoretical issues in the sociology of immigration. First, although much is known about assimilation as an immigration outcome what factors influence assimilation, who assimilates, under what conditions, and immigrant social characteristics much less is known about the interactions that lead to differential assimilation outcomes. Discussions on assimilation refer to the interaction processes by which assimilation happens or not. But what kinds of interactions produce this? What happens in teacher-student interaction, for example, that influences immigrants' children to avoid speaking their parents' native tongue? This is not to say that the topic is not discussed. It is just that the empirical and theoretical focus is on assimilation, not process. The types of interactions that Hispanics experience in the criminal justice system as victims or perpetrators, with law enforcement officials can help us to understand an aspect of the assimilation experience.

The second theoretical issue pertains to sociology's focus on the end products of the immigrant assimilation process: to what extent immigrants become embedded in their new culture and society, and what social characteristics and conditions are currently going on in immigration theory and research, whether current immigration influences these outcomes. This may be seen by the debate over transnationality: Do assimilation patterns respond to a globalized economy and communication system, or is the traditional conception of immigration— as inevitably leading toward integration into the host culture and society— still valid (Alba & Nee, 1997; Glick Schiller, 1999; Portes, Guarnizo, & Landolt, 1999)? If the criminal justice experiences of the children of immigrants demonstrate assimilation into the American criminal justice system, this would seem to strengthen the traditional notion of immigration. In this debate, the Hispanic experience in the U.S. is salient because of the prominence of Hispanics in current immigration streams (as demonstrated below).

I first present the extent to which Hispanics in general, and specifically Hispanic immigrants, are involved in the U.S. criminal justice system as victims, arrestees, and prisoners. Following the criminological tenet that criminal behavior is socially learned, and as such, corresponds to a society's culture and structure, the significance of this massive Hispanic immigrant involvement is then theoretically interpreted as an assimilation mode. Finally, my study points to research on Hispanic delinquents for clues to how gang interactions and police-immigrant contacts help to assimilate second-generation adolescents to the criminal justice culture and structure.

Hispanics' Involvement in the U.S. Criminal Justice System

There is limited information on the extent of Hispanic involvement in criminal justice. Even less is available for distinguishing between Hispanic immigrant and native-born criminal justice involvement. However, reasonable generalizations about immigrant involvement can be made on the basis of known characteristics of foreign and native-born Hispanics. Drawing from criminal justice and demographic research, the discussion below examines existing knowledge about Hispanic immigrants and children of immigrants as crime victims, arrestees, and prisoners. Also considered is the limited information on Hispanic undocumented immigrants' experiences with crime and justice.

Crime Victims

The U.S. National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) estimated the violent crime victimization rate in 2000 to be 2,900 per 100,000 persons age 12 or older, while the property crime rate was estimated at 17,800 per 100,000 (BJS, 2001). Hispanic victimization rates are slightly higher than non-Hispanics'. In 2000, as shown in Table 1, 2,710 per 100,000 persons ages 12 or older reported being victims of rape, robbery, aggravated assault, simple assault, or personal theft. Hispanic rates were slightly higher than the mean; Blacks had the highest victimization rates, 3,530 offenses per 100,000, while those of Whites and others (Asians and American Indians) were below the mean.[footnote] The reported Hispanic rates appear to represent a payoff from a decade of diminishing crime. For instance, at the beginning of the 1990s, Hispanic personal victimization rates were 10% higher than non-Hispanics', and Hispanic property victimization rates were 40% higher than non-Hispanics'.

The NCVS report shows rates per 1,000 persons. Here they are converted to rates per 100,000 in order to compare them with arrest and imprisonment rates, which are reported per 100,000 population. The figures slightly overestimate the extent of White victimization because NCVS classifies Hispanics' race according to the respondent's self-definition of race. Making the simple assumption that all Hispanics define their race as White and subtracting the Hispanic population from the White total, the non-Hispanic White victimization rate is reduced by less than 1 percentage point.

Table 1. Personal Victimization Rates per 100,000 Persons Age 12 or older, Year 2000. According to Type of Offense, Race and Ethnicity.

Race & Ethnicity	Population	All Offenses	Rape	Robbery	Aggrav Assault	Simple Assault	Personal Theft
White	189,308,050	2,710	110	270	540	1,790	110
Black	27,978,180	3,530	110	720	770	1,920	190
Other	9,518,390	2,070	110	280	520	1,150	180
Hispanic	24,513,290	2,840	50	500	560	1,740	240
Non-Hisp	200,294,810	2,770	120	300	570	1,780	110
Total	234,326,490	2,784	110	326	568	1,779	123
* Source: Bureau of Justice Statistics, Criminal Victimization 2000. Changes 1999-2000 with Trends 1993-2000. U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, June 2001.							

Arrestees

The FBI's Uniform Crime Reports, the main source of information on arrests, provide information on the racial characteristics of arrestees, but not their ethnicity. However, criminal justice agencies in some large urban areas publish limited information on the proportion of Hispanics and other ethnic groups among arrestees. New York State figures provide an example of inter-ethnic differences in arrest. In New York State, 233,871 (20%) of the 1,146,092 juvenile and adult arrestees in 1999 were classified as Hispanics (DCJS, 2004). To estimate the extent of ethnic groups' representation in arrests, each group's total number of arrests was divided by its estimated population. Hispanics had an arrest rate of 8,155 arrests per 100,000. In comparison, the arrest rates for non-Hispanic Whites, Blacks, Indians, and Asians were 4,469, 14,574, 2,446 and 1,141 per 100,000 of their respective populations.[footnote] In arrests as in victimization, Hispanics have lower rates than Blacks, but higher rates than Whites or other groups.

New York state classifies arrestees by race as White, Black, Indian, or Asian; and separately by ethnicity as Hispanic or non-Hispanic. By U.S. Census convention, Hispanics can self-classify as any of those races, or as "other." To compare Hispanics with non-Hispanic Whites, Blacks, and so forth, Hispanic arrests were subtracted from all White arrests.

Table 2. New York State. Juvenile and Adult Arrests per 100,000 Population, by Type of Arrest and Ethnicity, 1999.

Offense Type	White (1)	Black	Hispanic	Total
Homicide	2.2	15.5	8.1	5.5
Rape	4.0	27.3	14.1	9.7
Robbery	24.1	378.7	148.0	107.7
Aggravated assault	78.9	455.1	232.0	166.5
Simple assault	255.8	759.2	361.2	353.6
All crimes against persons	367.1	1,651.4	771.3	648.5
Drug sales & manufacture	70.1	842.9	499.7	270.3
Drug use/possession	365.8	1,785.1	931.7	688.4
Property, public order	2,314.3	8,500.5	4,849.9	3,713.1
All offenses	3,533.3	14,574.0	8,154.5	6,069.7

Source: New York State Department of Criminal Justice Services. 1999 Crime and Justice Annual Report. Section Two: Arrests. Albany, NY, 2004.

Prisoners

Of the 1,409,280 persons over the age of 18 in state or federal prisons in 2003, 268,100 (19%) were Hispanics. Non-Hispanic Whites, Blacks, and others (Asians, Native Americans, and other groups) comprised 35, 44, and 2%, respectively (BJS, 2004). In 1999, juvenile justice facilities housed 104,413 persons, of whom 18,012 (18%) were classified as Hispanic. Whites, Blacks, and "others" were 39, 38, and 4%, respectively (Sickmund, Sladky, & Kang, 2004). The stated figures equal less than 100% because of rounding error. Table 3 compares Hispanic, Black, White, and other adult and juvenile imprisonment rates. Hispanic adults have higher imprisonment rates than Whites and Asians, but lower imprisonment rates than Blacks.

Table 3. Imprisonment Rates per 100,000 Population, State and Federal Prisons, 2003, and Juvenile Facilities, 1999, According to Race and Ethnicity

	Total	White	Black	Hispanic	Other	
State or Federal prisoners, 2003	977	503	3,590	1,315	311	
	Total	White	Black	Hispanic	Am.Indian	Asian
Juveniles, 1999	371	212	1004	485	632	182

Sources: Bureau of Justice Statistics, Prisoners in 2003. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, November 2004, Tables 11 and 12. Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention.

Juveniles in Corrections. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, June, 2004, p11.

In criminology, it is well-known that with a few exceptions, victims' social characteristics mirror perpetrators' (Cohen & Felson, 1979; Hindenlang, Gottfredson, & Garofalo, 1978). For instance, most homicide perpetrators and victims share the same age group, social class, ethnicity, and gender (Fox & Zawitz, 2004). Therefore, one would expect a given ethnic group's victimization rates to mirror its arrest rates, as is the case for Whites. If an ethnic group's arrest rate is higher than its victimization rate, the difference can be taken as evidence, though not proof, of discrimination in law enforcement. In the same way, discrepancies between an ethnic group's self-reported and official arrest rates suggest discrimination (Elliott & Ageton, 1980).

Across criminal justice process stages, Hispanics generally have lower rates than Blacks, but higher rates than Whites and other minority groups. This general pattern masks an important difference: Hispanic – White differences in victimization are less pronounced than differences in arrests or imprisonment. Table 4 shows this by presenting each ethnic group's rates as ratios to the mean rate. Hispanics have victimization rates equal to the mean for most offenses, but their arrests and imprisonment rates are generally 1.3 to 1.5 times the mean, depending on the offense. Blacks' rates across criminal justice process stages are generally 2 to 3.5 times the mean, while Whites' and other groups' rates are generally below the mean.

Table 4. Ratios of Hispanic, Black, White and Other Group's Victimization, Arrest and Imprisonment Rates to Mean Rates

Stage inCriminal Justice Process	Hispanic Rates to Mean Rates	Black Rates to Mean Rates	White Rates to Mean Rates	Other Group Rates to Mean Rates
VictimizationRape	0.45	1.00	1.00	1.00
Robbery	1.53	2.21	0.83	0.86
Aggravated Assault	0.99	1.36	0.96	0.92
All personal offenses	1.02	1.27	0.97	0.74
ArrestsHomicide	1.47	2.81	0.40	n.a.
Rape	1.45	2.81	0.41	n.a.
Robbery	1.37	3.52	0.22	n.a.
Aggravated Assault	1.39	2.73	0.47	n.a.
All offenses	1.34	2.40	0.58	n.a.
ImprisonmentFederal and state facilities	1.35	3.67	0.51	0.32
Juvenile facilities	1.31	2.71	0.57	Am. Indians:1.70Asians: 0.49

Hispanic Immigrant Involvement in the Criminal Justice System

There is very little information available about the extent of immigrant involvement in criminal justice as victims or perpetrators. The latest information available dates to the late 1990s, when Hagan and Palloni (1998) examined arrest and imprisonment rates for specific immigrant groups. The research they reviewed and reanalyzed generally indicates lesser immigrant involvement once the age characteristics of specific immigrant groups were taken into account. For instance, Mexicans' imprisonment rates were found to be similar to those of U.S. citizens. In another study specifically focusing on Hispanics in San Diego and El Paso, Hagan and Palloni (1999) found that immigrants had violence arrest rates similar to those of U.S. citizens. Illegal aliens had lower violence and narcotics arrests rates than immigrants or U.S. citizens, but higher property arrest rates. Similar results are found in other studies of immigrant crime involvement in the U.S. and other developed countries (Lee, et al., 2001; Pennell, et al., 1989). For a review of the evidence with detailed coverage of the U.S. and other countries, see Yeager (1996). Although these studies are limited by their focus on specific jurisdictions, by their use of limited survey instruments, or by limitations on the number of geographic areas available for comparison, they all show a consistent finding: There is less crime involvement among immigrants than among the native-born, but there is greater crime involvement among the children of immigrants than among the native born.

This suggests that immigration today is repeating historically established patterns whereby first generation immigrants have crime rates lower than the general population's, while the children of immigrants have crime rates higher that the general population's (Ianni, 1998; Miller & Kleinman, 1985). However, since the pace of immigration has increased since the 1960s, it is possible that changes in the characteristics of immigrants may lead to greater crime involvement. In the absence of more contemporary and comprehensive information, estimates of Hispanic immigrant involvement in the criminal justice system can only be surmised from their social characteristics.

Table 5 compares the age distributions circa 2000 of the total Hispanic population to those of native-born and foreign-born Hispanics, distinguishing the latter between citizens and non-citizens. The table also shows the age distributions of Hispanic crime victims and of defendants charged by the federal government with an immigration offense. The latter are the closest existing approximation to the characteristics of undocumented immigrants. People under age 34 are the key age group to focus on since ages 14 to 34 comprise the most crime-prone ages. Forty-seven percent of the total Hispanic population was under 25 in the year 2000. In contrast, 65% of native-born Hispanics were under 25. Eight percent of foreign-born naturalized citizens were under 25, while 31% of non-citizens were under that age.

Table 5: Age Group Distributions of Hispanic Population Ages 12 and over, According to Citizenship Status; of Federal Defendants Charged with Immigration Offenses; and of Hispanic Violent Crime Victims, 2000.

	Total	Native-born	Foreign-born			Federal Defendants	Crin
				U.S.	Not U.S.	Charged with	
Age	Population	Total	Total	Citizen	Citizen	Immigration Offense	Vict
12 to 17	14.0%	21.5%	6.4%	1.4%	8.2%	*under 19:* 1.9%	24.9
18 to 24	16.1%	17.7%	14.5%	5.1%	17.9%	*19-20:* 24.5%	25.2

25 to 34	23.0%	19.1%	27.1%	16.5%	31.0%	*21-30:* 45.8%	25.2
35 to 49	26.7%	22.8%	30.7%	36.2%	28.7%	*31-40:* 32.6%	18.3
50 to 64	13.0%	12.0%	14.0%	23.0%	10.7%	*over 40:* 14.1%	5.2%
65 or older	7.1%	7.0%	7.3%	17.7%	3.5%		1.3%
Total	24,558,382	12,457,543	12,100,838	3,240,875	8,859,963	14,540	630,

Figures are for total Civilian Non-Institutional Population * * Includes the 2.2 % figure for Ages 55 to 64. Sources: Total Population: Current Population Survey, March 2000 Supplement. Obtained through Data Ferrett. Native population by age estimated from Total Civilian Population – Total Foreign-born

Foreign- born: Profile of the Foreign-born Population of the U.S., 2000. Table 10.2, p. 27.

Defendants Charged with an Immigration Offense: Bureau of Justice Statistics, "Immigration Offenders in the Federal Criminal Justice System, 2000. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, August 2002.

Crime Victims: Bureau of Justice Statistics, "Hispanic Victims of Violent Crime, 1993-2000" Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, April 2002.

Hispanic immigrants are older than the native-born. Therefore, we would expect more victimization or crime involvement among the latter. Although there is no official information on the age distribution of undocumented immigrants, the age distribution of defendants charged with an immigration offense (our proxy population for undocumented immigrants) is shown to be similar to the age distribution of Hispanic non-citizens. As may be seen from the table, most Hispanic crime victims are young, with one-fourth ages 12 to 17, one-fourth ages 18 to 24, and one-fourth ages 25 to 34. The age distribution of Hispanic victims most closely approximates the age distribution of native-born Hispanics. Given this, and the close equivalence between the age distributions of victims and arrestees, one could surmise that undocumented and legal immigrants have lower crime involvement — as victims or perpetrators—than second generation Hispanics.

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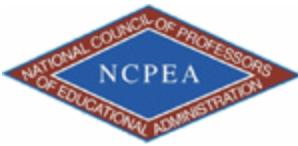
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Orlando Rodríguez is Professor in the Department of Sociology/Anthropology, Fordham University, Bronx, New York, USA & Scholar in Residence at Vera Institute of Justice New York, New York, USA

The Threat of Terrorism in the United States: The Emotional Answer of a
Nation in War
The terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 against the United States will be
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Alejandro del Carmen

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For those of us that experienced the impact of the attacks of 9/11, it is clear that this period constituted a time of confusion coupled with feelings associated with vengeance. Images of the newly elected president—George W. Bush, declaring war against the enemies of the United States, were often portrayed by the national and local media groups. At the time, President Bush marked the beginning of what was to be known as the "Bush doctrine"; he stated, when referring to other nations, as standing "with us, or against us". He added, when making a comment to a reporter regarding Osama Bin Laden, that he remembered a sign back home---"wanted dead or alive".

Both of these instances clearly affirm that the sentiment in the United States was of vengeance against the enemies that had been responsible for the 9/11 attacks. Within a few days of the attacks, the United States launched a major operation against the Taliban regime in Afghanistan. This operation was viewed, by nations around the world, as a direct response against the Taliban and Osama bin Laden's Al Queda terrorist network; particularly, for their direct involvement in the planning and execution of the 9/11 attacks against the United States.

The response of the American public towards the 9/11 attacks was of disbelief and anger. These feelings were coupled with a revived sentiment of patriotism. The latter was clearly observed in neighborhoods throughout the country as Americans began to display, in their homes, cars, and places of employment, patriotic colors representative of the American flag. In addition, the media reinforced this patriotic sense by displaying events that supported the nation that the United States was united. Some of these events included a major hockey game where the players hugged one another after the game ended. Another event included members of the House and Senate of the United States, holding hands singing "God Bless America" at the footsteps of the Capitol building in Washington, D.C.

There was much disbelief, among the American people, that the United States had been attacked in the homeland. Most Americans could have never imagined that such an attack would take place; particularly in New York City. This feeling of disbelief led to a state of confusion. In fact, the day when the attacks took place, most Americans were not sure who was in

control of their government or what the next day would bring with regards to security measures.

The feeling of disbelief led to a moral panic where most citizens were willing to surrender at the mercy of its policy makers, the most cherished due process rights afforded by the U.S. Constitution. This moral panic was clearly representative of the "fear" of being attacked again and the fear that lack of action would translate into more terrorist attacks in the immediate future. The argument was made that legislators "knew best"; thus, the American people were obliged to provide them the necessary tools to "make us safer".

The immediate result of this fear and moral panic was one of the most significant pieces of legislation that has emerged in the United States in recent history; legislation which, according to critics, significantly curtails the due process rights of American citizens. The name of this legislation, which has become a symbol of the emotional response initiated by the United States after the attacks of September 11, 2001, is titled the "Patriot Act".

The Patriot Act was signed into law by President Bush on October 26, 2001. The Act was passed with little Congressional oversight and debate. The legislation was regarded by its advocates as "urgently needed" in light of the "lingering" terrorist threat against the United States. That is, supporters of the Patriot Act alleged that it would allow law enforcement greater flexibility to identify and respond, if necessary, to any terrorist threat in the homeland or abroad.

According to the Charles Doyle's Congressional Research Services Report to Congress (2002), the Patriot Act was based on the following components:

1. Criminal Investigations
2. Foreign Intelligence Investigators
3. Money Laundering
4. Alien Terrorists and Victims
5. Other Crimes and Penalties

Crime Investigations

In the United States, prior to the Patriot Act, law enforcement officers were required to seek special court orders in order to eavesdrop on a suspect in order to obtain information leading to criminal prosecution. The Patriot Act, according to Charles Doyle's Congressional Research Services Report to Congress (2002, pg. CRS-2,3), altered this requirement by:

- *Allowing pen register and trap and trace orders for electronic communications*
- *Authorizing nationwide execution of court orders for pen registers, trap and trace devices, and stored e-mail or communication records*
- *Treating stored voice mail like stored e-mail*
- *Allowing authorities to intercept communications to and from a trespasser with a computer system*
- *Adding terrorist and computer crimes to Title III's predicate offense list*
- *Reinforcing and protecting those who help execute Title III, ch. 121, and ch. 206 orders*
- *Encouraging cooperation between law enforcement and foreign intelligence investigators*
- *Establishing claims against the U.S. for certain communication privacy violations by government personnel*
- *Terminating the authority found in many of these provisions and several of the foreign intelligence amendments with a sunset provision (December 31, 2005).*

Foreign Intelligence Investigators

In addition to the provisions mentioned earlier, the Patriot Act eased some of the restrictions on foreign intelligence gathering within the United States. Furthermore, it afforded the United States intelligence community greater access to information discovered during a criminal investigation. According to Charles Doyle's Congressional Research Services Report to Congress (2002, pg. CRS-3), the Act:

- *Allows "roving" surveillance (court orders not including the identification of the particular instrument, facilities, or place where the surveillance is to take place)*
- *Increases the number of judges on the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA) court from 7 to 11*
- *Allows application for a FISA surveillance or search order when gathering foreign intelligence*
- *Authorizes pen register and trap and trace device orders for e-mails as well as telephone conversations*
- *Sanctions court ordered access to any tangible item rather than only business records held by lodging, car rental, and locker rental businesses*
- *Is subject to a sunset provision*
- *Creates a claim against the United States for certain communications privacy violations by government personnel*
- *Expands the prohibition against FISA orders based strictly on First Amendment Rights*

Money Laundering

One of the major areas of focus, for law enforcement personnel, after the attacks of September 11, 2001, pertained to money transactions. The law enforcement community believes that if they are able to "disable" the ability of terrorists to make monetary transactions, it will have an immediate positive effect in preventing terrorist attacks. Based on this belief, the Patriot Act introduced laws aimed at enhancing law enforcement's ability to intercept and control, to some degree, the flow of cash which is intended to be used to support or commit criminal offenses.

The Act, according to Charles Doyle's Congressional Research Services Report to Congress (2002, pg. CRS-3), "expands the authority of the Secretary of the Treasury to regulate the activities of U.S. Financial institutions, particularly their relations with foreign individuals and entities". Specifically, according to Doyle's Report (2002, pgs. CRS-3, 4), the Secretary of the Treasury has the authority, under the Act, to:

- *Require securities brokers and dealers as well as commodity merchants, advisors and pool operators to file suspicious activity reports (SARs)*
- *Require businesses to file SARs*
- *Impose additional special measures and due diligence requirements to address foreign money laundering*
- *Prohibit financial institutions based in the U.S. to maintain correspondent accounts for foreign shell banks*
- *Prevent financial institutions from allowing their customers to conceal their financial activities by taking advantage of the institutions' concentration account practices*
- *Establish minimum new customer identification standards and record-keeping and recommending an effective means to verify the identify of foreign customers*
- *Encourage financial institutions to maintain anti-money laundering programs which must include at least one compliance officer; an employee training program; the development of internal policies, procedures and controls; and an independent audit feature*

Alien Terrorists and Victims

The Patriot Act enacts several provisions aimed at preventing the influx of alien terrorists from entering United States territory. The emphasis placed on this particular area was on migration from Canada. That is, the Act allows for authorities to detain and deport, as necessary, any alien terrorist including the individuals who support them. Further, under this clause, the Act allows for the provision of humanitarian immigration relief for foreign victims of the attacks of September 11, 2001 (Doyle, 2002).

Other Crimes and Penalties

The Patriot Act created new federal crimes including acts involving terrorist attacks on mass transportation facilities and attacks using biological weapons. Also, it included acts related to the harboring of terrorists, affording terrorists material support, and for money laundering-related

offenses. The expansion of criminal offenses also included acts related to fraudulent charitable solicitation.

In addition, the Patriot Act enhanced the current criminal penalties for specific criminal incidents. These included acts of terrorism, raising penalties for conspiracy to commit certain terrorist offenses, sentencing certain terrorists to life-long parole, and increasing penalties for counterfeiting, cyber crime, and charity fraud (Doyle, 2002).

Despite the argument that the Patriot Act is a "necessary tool" to combat terrorist threats against the United States, critics hold that it infringes on the civil rights of most individuals residing in the United States. These critics cite Herbert Packer's Due Process vs. Crime Control model which is based on the notion that every society, at one time or another, chooses, to some extent, to emphasize due process or crime control. That is, societies may emphasize due process rights of individuals and argue these are more important than most crime control initiatives. On the other hand, others may feel that crime control is more important and deserves more attention than due process rights. Supporters of Packer's model argue that the United States followed the due process model in the 1960s. This shifted to the crime control model once the Reagan administration launched the campaign to fight drugs in the 1980s. Today, criminologists engaged in this particular dialogue argue that the United States is shifting towards the crime control model. They cite the Patriot Act as symbolic in the shifting towards a more "secure" society (following the crime control model) while abandoning, to some extent, the pursuit of due process rights.

Specifically, the Patriot Act has been severely criticized for its apparent violations on civil rights. According to the Electronic Frontier Foundation (2005. pg. 1), the following are some of the areas of concern regarding the Act:

The law dramatically expands the ability of states and the Federal Government to conduct surveillance of American citizens. *The Government can monitor an individual's web surfing records, use roving wiretaps to monitor phone calls made by individuals "proximate" to the primary person being tapped, access Internet Service Provider records, and monitor the private records of people involved in legitimate protests.*

PATRIOT is not limited to terrorism. *The Government can add samples to DNA databases for individuals convicted of "any crime of violence." Government spying on suspected computer trespassers (not just terrorist suspects) requires no court order. Wiretaps are now allowed for any suspected violation of the Computer Fraud and Abuse Act, offering possibilities for Government spying on any computer user.*

Foreign and domestic intelligence agencies can more easily spy on Americans. *Powers under the existing Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA) have been broadened to allow for increased surveillance opportunities. FISA standards are lower than the constitutional standard applied by the courts in regular investigations. PATRIOT partially repeals legislation enacted in the 1970s that prohibited pervasive surveillance of Americans.*

PATRIOT eliminates Government accountability. *While PATRIOT freely eliminates privacy rights for individual Americans, it creates more secrecy for Government activities; making it extremely difficult to know about actions the Government is taking.*

PATRIOT authorizes the use of "sneak and peek" search warrants in connection with any federal crime, including misdemeanors. *A "sneak and peek" warrant authorizes law enforcement officers to enter private premises without the occupant's permission or knowledge and without informing the occupant that such a search was conducted.*

Today, the U.S. Department of Justice, with the support of the Bush administration and its supporters, are currently promoting follow-up legislation tiled "Patriot Act II". This particular Act aims at continuing, and at times, enhancing, the components established by the first Patriot Act. Needles to say, it is the source of much concern to civil rights activists that claim this is a continuation of infringement of the due process and civil rights of American citizens.

Many questions have emerged as a result of the likely continuance of the Patriot Act provisions. Some of these pertain to migration issues relevant to the current campaign to "secure the borders". Recently, a group of vigilantes have taken it upon themselves to volunteer their time in assisting

the Immigration and Naturalization Services (INS) to identify illegal aliens (mostly from Mexico) crossing the border in states like California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas. Although these individuals have been labeled by the U.S. government as "vigilantes" and unlawful, it is clear that there is a growing national momentum among certain members of the population to "address the immigration" issue in light of the lingering terrorist threat.

Another issue that has emerged from this particular legislation has to do with racial profiling. That is, a law enforcement official engaging in the identification, detection, and prosecution of an individual based on that person's racial or ethnic composition as opposed to a criminal act. This is a growing problem in the United States and will likely continue in the near future as images of terrorists are portrayed synonymously with images of Middle Easterners wearing their traditional garments. Sadly, some people have started to project their anger and frustration to all individuals who appear to look Middle Eastern including, in some cases, Hispanic immigrants who can be easily confused for Middle Easterners.

The United States is faced with a challenge to either continue to embrace legislation that may have a deterrent effect on acts of terrorism or to simply abandon this legislation and engage in a more passive crime control strategy. Most experts agree that the former is likely to take place as legislators continue to impress, upon their constituents, the need for a legislative act that allows law enforcement to "continue protecting the United States" against its enemies. Critics, however, disagree. They affirm that the United States is carrying an agenda that aims at substantially reducing the due process rights of individuals while grossly exaggerating the terrorist threat against the United States. Restated, critics argue that the United States, in its enactment of the first Patriot Act and the possible enactment of Patriot Act II, is seeking a crime control model while ignoring, to a large extent, its historical commitment to due process.

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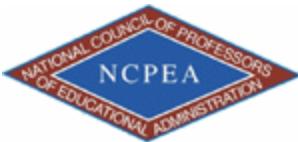
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Alejandro del Carmen is a associate professor and chair in the department of Criminology at The University of Texas at Arlington.

Racial Attitudes and Religious Social Work: The Texas-Mexican and the U.S. Catholic Church

In this chapter, I explore a part of the tejano Jim Crow experience.The terms used in this essay to refer to Mexican-origin people--Mexicans, Mexican Americans, Texas Mexicans, and tejanas/tejanos--convey important distinctions. However, for stylistic convenience and to reflect the actual makeup of the communities examined here, these terms will be used interchangeably. Similarly, "nuns," "sisters," "congregation," and "community" also will be used synonymously though historically these terms have had different meanings. I examine an aspect of that era that remains virtually unknown; that is, the attitudes of Catholic sisters in a time when segregation reigned and racism, religious bigotry, and class prejudice made most Mexicans social outcasts. Particularly, how did the widespread anti-Mexicanism of the times affect the religious social work Catholic nuns provided to poverty-stricken tejano communities?

Racial Attitudes and Religious Social Work: The Texas-Mexican and the U.S. Catholic Church

Roberto R. Treviño

"They came, hopeful of finding respect and love," a Catholic priest lamented, "but there is no love — only contempt and hatred." Father Esteban de Anta was referring to the thousands of Mexican immigrants who

inundated Texas and the American Southwest searching for a better life in the early 20th century. As pastor of Our Lady of Guadalupe, Houston's only "Mexican" parish in the early 1910s, Father de Anta was well acquainted with the plight of Mexican Catholics. "'Greasers' they are called and looked down upon and considered as pariahs," he decried.[footnote] In a time when most Americans made no distinction between native-born Mexican- Americans and newly arrived Mexican immigrants, there was widespread ostracism of both groups; Jim Crow shackled their aspirations regardless of nativity or citizenship. Discussions about Jim Crowism evoke images about racism against African-Americans in the Deep South. But Mexican-origin people in the United States also have a long history of struggle against institutionalized racism, as historians Arnoldo De León and David Montejano, among others, have amply documented. Texas Mexicans have resisted the barriers imposed by a race-conscioussociety bent on preserving white supremacy and Euro-American privilege since their incorporation into the United States; for them, Texas historically has been a place where "Jim Crow Wears a Sombrero."[footnote]

Reverend Esteban de Anta, "Missionary Work in the Diocese of Galveston," Extension Magazine, August 1913, 22.

See Arnoldo De León, They Called Them Greasers: Anglo Attitudes Toward Mexicans in Texas, 1821-1900 (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1983); David Montejano, Anglos and Mexicans in the Making of Texas, 1836-1986 (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1987); John Rechy, "Jim Crow Wears a Sombrero," The Nation, 10 October 1950, 210-13.

In this chapter, I explore a part of the *tejano* Jim Crow experience. [footnote] I examine an aspect of that era that remains virtually unknown; that is, the attitudes of Catholic sisters in a time when segregation reigned and racism, religious bigotry, and class prejudice made most Mexicans social outcasts. Particularly, how did the widespread anti-Mexicanism of the times affect the religious social work Catholic nuns provided to poverty-stricken *tejano* communities? These questions have not been sufficiently studied by historians. The religious history of Mexican-Americans has been long neglected by social historians and its reconstruction is still embryonic. [footnote] The scant work in this area, not surprisingly, remains particularly silent about the impact of women's religious orders on Mexican-American history. Most historical accounts of women's religious communities are

characteristically uncritical and hagiographic. As historian Margaret Susan Thompson stated, "much of the writing… consists of unimaginative narrative, tedious chronology, triumphalism, flowery pietism, or some combination of these."[footnote] In short, crucial aspects about the Mexican-American religious experience remain misunderstood or unknown. I seek to understand a part of that experience— how the issue of race affected the delivery of religious social work carried on by Catholic sisters among Texas Mexicans in the early to mid-twentieth century.

The terms used in this essay to refer to Mexican-origin people--Mexicans, Mexican Americans, Texas Mexicans, and tejanas/tejanos--convey important distinctions. However, for stylistic convenience and to reflect the actual makeup of the communities examined here, these terms will be used interchangeably. Similarly, "nuns," "sisters," "congregation," and "community" also will be used synonymously though historically these terms have had different meanings.

Two groundbreaking works are Jay P. Dolan and Gilberto M. Hinojosa, eds., Mexican Americans and the Catholic Church, 1900-1965 (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994) and Timothy M. Matovina, Tejano Religion and Ethnicity: San Antonio, 1821-1860 (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995). On the lack of emphasis on Spanish-speaking Catholics by American historians of religion, see Martin E. Marty, "The Editor's Bookshelf: American Religious History," Journal of Religion 62 (January 1982): 104; Jay P. Dolan, "The New Religious History," Reviews in American History 15 (September 1987): 449-54; and Leslie W. Tentler, "On the Margins: The State of American Catholic History," American Quarterly 45 (March 1993): 104-27.

Margaret Susan Thompson, "Women, Feminism, and the New Religious History: Catholic Sisters as a Case Study," in Belief and Behavior: Essays in the New Religious History, ed. Philip R. Vander Meer and Robert P. Swierenga (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1991), 141.

I argue that Catholic sisters were precursors of social change, transitional figures whose attitudes and activities regarding Mexicans often reflected both racism and egalitarianism, mirroring the ambivalence and contradictions of a Jim Crow society inching toward its democratic promise. Nuns provided desperately needed social services and opportunities which most Texas Mexicans otherwise would have been

denied, but, paradoxically, some aspects of those efforts actually helped to perpetuate social discrimination against Mexicans even as they aimed to hasten its demise. However, over the course of the first half of the 20th century, sisters haltingly made the attitudinal and organizational changes necessary to fight Mexican-American inequality more effectively, and they inspired others to work for social justice for Texas Mexicans. By the mid-twentieth century, Catholic sisters labored among those helping to usher in the Civil Rights Era of the post-World War II years.

The flood of Mexican immigration in the 1910s and 1920s gave rise to the so-called Mexican problem. During these decades, especially, many Americans viewed Mexican immigrants ambivalently, as a sort of necessary evil. Some Americans wanted Mexicans as a source of cheap labor, but others resented them as economic competitors, or despised them as potential despoilers of the social fabric. On the one hand, rapid capitalist development in Texas made Mexicans highly prized workers, especially in the agricultural, mining, and railroad industries. On the other hand, as Mexican-origin people gained visibility and apparent permanence, Americans grew alarmed and increasingly worried about the challenges of social incorporation the immigrants posed. Mexican immigrants— and by extension, Mexican- American citizens— were both wanted and feared. This dilemma plunged the nation into a rancorous debate about what to do with a growing mass of presumably inassimilable but dearly needed "foreigners." As a result, racial segregation and other means were devised to exploit the Mexicans' labor while blunting the perceived threat of their social and cultural pollution.[footnote]
Montejano, Anglos and Mexicans in the Making of Texas, 179-96; Ricardo Romo, "Responses to Mexican Immigration, 1910-1930," Aztlán 6 (Summer 1975): 173-94.

In the early 20th century a nun's newsletter tellingly described how two sisters at Houston's Our Lady of Guadalupe Parish "go every morning . . . to *civilize*, catechize and Christianize these Mexicans."[footnote] In a similar vein, a new sister superior who had never ministered to Mexicans before arriving in Houston created serious problems at Guadalupe Parish because she "did not understand . . . [Mexican Catholics], feel for them, nor actually care for them," a fellow nun claimed.[footnote] Having internalized

the pervasive racial prejudice against Mexicans, some nuns would find their ministry greatly limited, if not totally ineffective, by their own racial biases. Consciously or not, some sisters shared the negative images that society at large held about Mexicans and Mexican-Americans.
Family Circular, November 1912, 23 (added emphasis).
Sister Mary Paul Valdez, The History of the Missionary Catechists of Divine Providence (N.p.: privately printed, 1978), 70.

The scourge of racism in American society did not spare religious institutions. As historian Margaret Susan Thompson recognized, "religious orders generally mirrored the secular world in which they functioned and from which their all-too-human membership was drawn."[footnote] One sister reminded the archbishop of San Antonio in 1948, "In your position as bishop I know you have had enough experience to know how fickle human nature can be, how misunderstandings and even sometimes a little malice, jealousy and spite will be found in religious houses."[footnote] More recently a sister wrote that Mexican-origin nuns lived with "pain . . . humiliations and difficulties" in her congregation.[footnote] Sister María Luisa Vález reported that Mexican-American nuns in early 20th century Texas often felt the sting of racial slurs, and were routinely assigned primarily to menial tasks and routinely excluded from educational opportunities. When Mexican nuns visited San Antonio, their White sisters were warned, "Put everything away and lock your things because the Mexicans are coming and they are thieves." A Mexican-American nun, Vález, tearfully recalled how a White sister at a hospital where they both worked refused to lend her an instrument to treat one of her Mexican patients, referring to them as "dirty Mexican dogs."[footnote]
Margaret Susan Thompson, "Sisterhood and Power: Class, Culture, and Ethnicity in the American Convent," Colby Library Quarterly 25 (September 1989): 149-50. On racism in the Church, see Jeffrey M. Burns, "The Mexican Catholic Community in California," in Mexican Americans and the Catholic Church, 1900-1965, eds. Jay P. Dolan and Gilberto M. Hinojosa (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994), 131; Jay P. Dolan, The American Catholic Experience (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1985), 372 and passim; José Roberto Juárez, "La Iglesia Católica y el Chicano en Sud Texas, 1836-1911," Aztlán 4 (Fall 1973): 217-55.

Sister Mary Dolorita to Archbishop Robert E. Lucey, December 3, 1948, Franciscan Missionary Sisters of the Divine Child File, Archives of the Archdiocese of San Antonio, San Antonio, Texas.

María Luisa Vález, "The Pilgrimage of Hispanics in the Sisters of Charity of the Incarnate Word," U.S. Catholic Historian 9 (Spring/Winter 1990): 181-94; quote, 189.

Ibid., 190.

Mexican nuns were usually the ones assigned to do the cooking, washing, and sewing in the convents, according to Vález, and the congregation's leaders were unwilling to spend money to educate nuns who were essentially housekeepers, even when they pleaded for the chance to study. Poorly educated and even illiterate nuns from Europe, on the other hand, received educational opportunities. However, Mexican-American nuns *were* pressed into service as teachers whenever it was expedient —especially among Mexican-American children— despite their lack of preparation and often in circumstances that virtually assured failure. "How can I teach when I have not had the proper preparation; I have never studied; I have never taught," a nun protested to no avail.[footnote] Another sister echoed the experience: "I worked as a teacher but I [had] never studied. They sent me anyway." The nun "taught" 150 students in a tiny classroom. "What could I do with a group so large?" she recalled sadly. "In another place the school had 500 students but only two Sisters," the nun recounted, "both without proper training…" Looking back at those years, the elderly sister bitterly remembered being told that these "were Mexican children; it did not matter what they learned."[footnote]

Ibid., 191.

Ibid. In addition, deplorable conditions often characterized "Mexican" schools. See, for example, Sister Margaret P. Slattery, Promises to Keep: A History of the Sisters of Charity of the Incarnate Word, San Antonio, Texas (Np: privately printed, 1995), 1:99-103.

These and other examples of ethnic animosity and discrimination among some of the sisters explained, to a large degree, why historically there were so few Mexican-American nuns. Negative attitudes and a policy of not recruiting significant numbers of "home-grown" Mexican- American nuns fed off each other. The systematic exclusion of Mexican and Mexican-

American nuns from educational opportunities reverberated far beyond the crushed dreams of individuals. Congregations that shut the doors of education to Mexican-American nuns diminished not only the number of badly needed social workers for Mexican communities, but also the life chances and aspirations of future generations by denying them role models and accessible professional networks. Individual sisters who were unable to transcend their personal biases hindered their own ministry among Mexican Catholics and they also undermined the efforts of others who tried to improve conditions in Mexican communities. In the larger picture, racial prejudice among sisters bolstered the racial *status quo* that undergirded the social subordination of Texas Mexicans. But even while some sisters' attitudes and practices hindered *tejano* aspirations, others broke new ground by challenging Jim Crow.

Sister Mary Benitia Vermeersch, of the Congregation of the Sisters of Divine Providence of San Antonio, arrived in the sweltering summer heat of Houston in 1915 to begin her duties as school principal at the city's Mexican mother church, Our Lady of Guadalupe. Her leadership there would span 23 years, but even before she opened the school doors she set to work to alleviate the oppressive living conditions she found among her prospective students. Many of Guadalupe's parishioners worked for the numerous railroad companies in the Second Ward neighborhood around the parish, and often lived in company housing, which usually meant dilapidated two- or three-room shacks with outdoor plumbing. It was not uncommon for less fortunate workers and their families to share empty boxcars temporarily before finding better quarters. For many, as the people themselves would say, it was a life of "*mucho trabajo y poco dinero*" (lots of work but little pay), a dismal and often desperate picture.[footnote] Valdez, Missionary Catechists, 5-6; Arnoldo De León, Ethnicity in the Sunbelt: A History of Mexican Americans in Houston Monograph Series No. 7 (Houston: University of Houston Mexican American Studies Program, 1989), 12; quote in de Anta, "Missionary Work in the Diocese of Galveston," 22.

Endearingly called *La madre Benita* by parishioners, Sister Benitia believed that people would be more receptive to the Church's message if first their hunger and physical misery were relieved. Tirelessly she trekked Houston's

streets making contacts all over the city among its merchants, the well-to-do, and anyone else she could enlist in her struggle to meet some of the basic material needs of her students and their families. As relentless as she was resourceful, Sister Benitia salvaged discarded rugs for parishioners who often slept on cotton-picking sacks; solicited food from grocers and packing houses, clothing and other provisions from affluent homes; and useful gifts from local charities.[footnote] A wise and experienced teacher, Sister Benitia understood the role of proper nutrition in learning:
Valdez, Missionary Catechists, 5-12; 19-20.

There's a vast difference between a full stomach and an empty stomach as an influence in shaping the attitudes of children. Hunger affects their school work, lessens their chances to resist the inroads of even ordinary diseases of children and has a great bearing in shaping their destiny.[footnote]
"Starving Kids Get Lift," Houston Chronicle, 11 September 1932, p. 14.

Naturally, providing hot meals for her students and sending food to their homes was a high priority. With seemingly boundless energy she even made time to supervise the cultivation of small vegetable plots on the parish grounds for use by neighborhood families, and part of her arsenal of food included a poultry and cow yard on the church property. Sister Benitia also tried to bring badly needed medical services into Guadalupe parish. During the influenza epidemic of 1918-1919 she persuaded some doctors to donate services to the hard-hit Mexican community.[footnote] The founding in 1924 of what was originally called the "Mexican Clinic," an important health resource for Mexican Houstonians, likely benefited from Sister Benitia's previous groundwork and her advocacy for better health care for Mexicans in Houston.[footnote]
Family Circular, January 1916, 73, November 1916, 37; "Notes from Houston," Mary Immaculate, May 1931, 147; Valdez, Missionary Catechists, 8.
The founding of the clinic is attributed to Monsignor George T. Walsh. See "San José Clinic," typewritten manuscript, Mexican American Small Collections, Box 2, Houston Metropolitan Research Center, Houston, Texas.

Houston's Mexican population grew significantly during the 1920s and, as the Great Depression worsened in the 1930s, Sister Benitia redoubled her efforts to meet the challenges these developments posed to her social ministry. In 1930, she organized a group of young Mexican-American women from Guadalupe parish into the Missionary Catechists of Divine Providence. These volunteer catechists showed "all the zeal and consecration to their work, of a nun," their bishop remarked. Sister Benitia initially trained these lay women, ranging in age from 16 to 22, to provide religious instruction to children who attended public schools.[footnote] But their role soon expanded. As *barrio* residents, the Catechists were perfectly suited to be Sister Benitia's eyes and ears and, as they canvassed Houston's Mexican neighborhoods, they reported to Sister Benitia their people's needs and dire conditions--something they knew only too well from their own experience. The Catechists fueled Sister Benitia's dream of extending her social ministry to Mexicans throughout Houston; they were a central part of her plan to provide not only religious instruction but also a modicum of sorely needed social services for they city's Mexican residents. "These young women . . . may be used for personal investigation work in all parts of the city," a newspaper reported, "and for directing future welfare activities in centers planned for various [Mexican] settlements." In the early 1930s, plans were underway for one such center in Houston's North Side and by the latter 1930s another, called the Mexican Catholic Community Center, operated in the city's West End.[footnote] These young Mexican-American women, several of whom entered convent life permanently, had a crucial role in Sister Benitia's war on Mexican poverty in the Bayou City. [footnote]

Houston's Mexican-origin population increased from about 6,000 in 1920 to roughly 15,000 in 1930; De León, Ethnicity in the Sunbelt, 23; "The Catechists in Houston," Mary Immaculate, May 1933, 151-52; "Modern Lay Apostles," Mary Immaculate, September 1935, 233-34. Quoted material in American Board of Catholic Missions Report, 1932-1933, pp. 69-71, Archives of Loyola University of Chicago. The Catechists received papal approval and became a semi-autonomous affiliate of the Congregation of the Sisters of Divine Providence in 1946. See Valdez, Missionary Catechists.
"Starving Kids Get a Lift," Houston Chronicle; Houston Chronicle, 20 April 1940, p. 6A; and 26 April 1940, p. 1D.

Valdez, <u>Missionary Catechists</u>, follows the careers of the Catechists beginning in Houston; for names of Guadalupe parishioners who took vows, see Reverend de Anta Jubilee Souvenir, 1935, Our Lady of Guadalupe Parish (Houston) File, Archives of the Congregation of Divine Providence, San Antonio, Texas (hereafter ACDP).

During her time in Houston, from 1915 to 1938, *la madre Benita* enjoyed the confidence and deep respect of Guadalupe's parishioners.[footnote] However, when tensions developed between the sister and a new church pastor, Sister Benitia's superior recalled her to San Antonio over the protest of dismayed parishioners. In a letter "[v]oicing the sincere and unanimous desire of the Mexican Catholic people of Houston," nearly 700 congregants pleaded unsuccessfully for her to remain. To no avail the petitioners reminded the mother superior that Sister Benitia had spent "her very strength and life . . . in our behalf. . . ." But despite her selfless struggle to improve social conditions and provide opportunities for Houston's Mexican Catholics, the revered nun had lost favor among her male superiors and was transferred to San Antonio in July 1938.[footnote] With the departure of Sister Benitia, Mexican Catholics in Houston's Second Ward lost an inspirational ally in their fight to improve their lives. Moreover, the training of Catechists, which had been so vital to the social work carried out in Guadalupe Parish, eventually floundered and ended within five years of her departure.[footnote] Why did Sister Benitia succeed where others before and after her failed? The answer lies in her understanding and acceptance of Mexican Catholic culture. Before she became a nun, Elizabeth Vermeersch imbibed that culture on both sides of the Río Grande. When both her parents died suddenly in 1893, her uncle entrusted the 12-year-old and her two brothers to an orphanage operated by the Sisters of Charity of the Incarnate Word in San Antonio. At the orphanage Elizabeth saw firsthand the sisters' work among San Antonio's poor, most of whom were Mexicans and Mexican-Americans. Though barely a teenager, the future nun toiled in a similar ministry herself when she accompanied some of the Sisters of Charity to their missions in northern Mexico. During those three years, Elizabeth learned the language and ways of the Mexican people. She joined the Congregation of Divine Providence when she returned from Mexico, and then spent several years working among Texas Mexicans in San Antonio, Beeville, and other towns.[footnote]

Mr. Toribio Cano to Rev. Mother M. Philotea [Thiry], May 16, 1938, Catechists Collection, Sr. Benitia Vermeersch File, ACDP; Antonio Rodríguez, "In Tribute to Sister Benitia," <u>Southern Messenger</u> (San Antonio), 23 June 1938; interview with Petra R. Guillén, 22 October 1990, Houston, Texas; Valdez, <u>Missionary Catechists</u>, 8.

Cano to Mother Philotea; Bishop C. E. Byrne to Rev. A. C. Dusseau, January 28, 1938; Dusseau to Byrne, January 31, 1938; Byrne to Dusseau, February 1, 1938, Provincial Records, Archives of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, San Antonio, Texas.

Valdez, <u>Missionary Catechists</u>, 55, 70.

Ibid., 175-82.

These experiences deepened her affection for Mexicans and their distinctive Catholicism. A chronicler later wrote that although Sister Benitia insisted that her students learn English to further their education, she "did not try to strip the Mexicans of their cultural and religious practices and make them accept American customs."[footnote] The nun once explained to a newspaper reporter that Mexicans "are a long suffering people, greatly misunderstood. I know, for I have dealt with them for 18 years in Guadalupe parish."[footnote] Sister Benitia's work among Houston's Mexican Catholics succeeded because she genuinely understood and respected them.

Ibid., 14.

"Starving Kids Get a Lift," <u>Houston Chronicle</u>.

In San Antonio, Sister Benitia joined some progressive nuns who were beginning to develop a more systematic attack on social discrimination against Texas Mexicans. Reverend Mother Philothea Thiry, Superior General of the Congregation of the Sisters of Divine Providence from 1925-1943, and her successor, Mother Angelique Ayers, embodied the changing ways Catholic sisters conceived and carried out their social ministry in the 1930s and 1940s. Thiry and Ayers headed their San Antonio-based congregation and its teacher-training institution, Our Lady of the Lake College (OLLC), from the early 20th century to 1960. In the mid-1930s Mother Philothea spearheaded a movement aimed directly at the plight of the Mexican community of San Antonio, which had grown dramatically during the 1920s and 1930s. In order to better meet the needs of the

indigent, Thiry began preparations to train nuns as professional social workers, signaling a new approach to the so-called Mexican problem. Eventually, these efforts led to the founding of a graduate school of social work at OLLC in 1942, the Worden School of Social Service.[footnote]
"The Worden School of Social Service, A Self-Study," typewritten ms., AOLLU; interview with Sister Immaculate Gentemann, CDP, 8 August 1997, San Antonio, Texas (hereafter Gentemann interview); Sister Mary Generosa Callahan, The History of the Sisters of Divine Providence (Milwaukee: Bruce, 1955), 277-78. San Antonio's Mexican population grew from 60,000 to 103,000, roughly, between 1920-1940. Richard A. García, Rise of the Mexican American Middle Class (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 1991), 29, table 1.

In late 1939, the Sisters of Divine Providence bought two large and fashionable older homes on Dwyer Avenue near downtown San Antonio. Once refurbished one of these houses became the convent for the Missionary Catechists of Divine Providence, still directed by Sister Benitia Vermeersch, and the other became a center for social services for the poor. The idea was to centralize catechetical and social service work among San Antonio's Mexican and Mexican- American poor. Working with progressive clerics who called for social justice for Mexicans, particularly the soon to be archbishop of San Antonio, Robert E. Lucey, the Sisters of Divine Providence began to channel their charitable works into more systematic religious social work.[footnote]
Valdez, Missionary Catechists, 55-59; see also Callahan, History of the Sisters of Divine Providence, 267.

The social center on Dwyer Avenue soon became known as the Girl's Club of San Antonio, a community center where poor and working-class Mexican-American girls aged 7 to 17 could find wholesome recreation and religious instruction. The Girl's Club was in fact coeducational almost from the start. Close by the center was a clothing factory that hired many Mexican and Mexican-American men. The company provided no place for the workers to eat and, in all kinds of weather, the workers stood around the building and in the street having their lunches. Seeing this, the sisters provided the workers a place in the center to comfortably eat their noon meals. Soon the center became a meeting place and recreation center for

young men and women, hosting dances, wedding receptions, and activities for married women.[footnote]
Valdez, <u>Missionary Catechists</u>, 59-61; Gentemann interview.

Without question the main function of the Dwyer Street project was to train young women for work as domestics. In fact, the nuns referred to the Girl's Club as the "Homemaking Project." The sisters involved in the work of the Girl's Club attacked poverty among Mexicans by training young women for careers as maids and cooks, and finding jobs for them in affluent homes in San Antonio. Sister Mary Immaculate Gentemann, who was closely involved in these activities, recalled that the young *tejanas* lived in "deplorable conditions;" their families needed any income they could get. "We felt we needed to meet the needs of the time," the sister explained. The nuns at the Girls Club expected their efforts would prepare young women for "successful lives." Desperate for jobs, girls and young women flocked to the program and, indeed, the "Homemaking Project" was remarkably successful in terms of training and placing women in jobs as domestics. Hundreds of Mexican women in San Antonio found these kinds of jobs through their association with the Girl's Club. Still, notwithstanding the program's "success," the sisters abandoned it in the late 1940s.

The fact that the Sisters of Divine Providence discontinued the "Homemaking Project" at the height of its success illustrates the changing attitudes and strategies among nuns who challenged social inequality. The sisters who directed the Girls Club grew increasingly concerned about the exploitation of their trainees —they knew the young women were incredibly underpaid. It was a terrible "injustice," Sister Immaculate recalled. Significantly, the sisters eventually realized that they were actually "perpetuating an injustice." They had tried to break the cycle of poverty among some of their Mexican parishioners but, ironically, the nuns instead found themselves unintentionally helping to perpetuate it. Rather than continue a program that was ultimately self-defeating, the Sisters of Divine Providence stopped the Homemaking Project and sought other ways to fight poverty.[footnote] Clearly, these women of the Church were rethinking the nature of the "Mexican Problem" and their own relationship to it, as were other Americans.
Gentemann interview.

By the late 1930s and early 1940s a new consciousness was emerging within the American Catholic Church. The "problems" posed by a burgeoning Mexican population created huge interest and generated a flood of popular and academic literature about Mexican-origin people in the United States. This new awareness coincided with a reassessment in the scientific community about the nature of race and ethnicity, as well as a more sophisticated understanding of group relations and social inequality.[footnote]
For examples, see Linna E. Bresette, Mexicans in the United States: A Report of a Brief Survey (Washington, D.C.: National Catholic Welfare Conference, 1929); Herschel T. Manuel, "The Mexican Population of Texas," Southwestern Social Science Quarterly 15 (June 1934): 29-51; Father G. Mongeau, "Mexicans in our Midst," Mary Immaculate, December 1933, 325-27, 345; Thomas F. Gossett, Race: The History of an Idea in America (Dallas, TX: Southern Methodist University Press, 1963); Fred H. Matthews, Quest for an American Sociology: Robert E. Park and the Chicago School (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1977).

These trends sensitized Catholic sisters as more of them gained exposure to new ideas when they trained for social work in both secular and religious-affiliated universities outside of Texas. Sister Immaculate's graduate studies, for instance, took her to Columbia University in 1941; the next year Sister Mary Rachel Moreno began her studies there as well, eventually finishing at the Catholic University of America where, in the late 1940s, Sister Mary Nelda Gonzales also studied.[footnote] These were pivotal experiences for White and Mexican-American sisters alike. For one thing, graduate education and the professionalization experience challenged them intellectually and philosophically. They were forced to consider Protestant, atheist, and other perspectives about the nature and resolution of social problems. Sister Immaculate, for example, recalled how crucial her graduate studies had been in developing her Catholic philosophy of social work. Equally important, these experiences gave Mexican-American sisters a chance to "prove" themselves in the eyes of their congregational leaders. Significantly, the congregational leadership consciously undertook this new direction. They "felt their people should go beyond a Catholic environment," Sister Immaculate emphasized.[footnote] The upshot of all this was a reconsideration of the strategies used to fight the ravages of

social marginalization. These new experiences also help explain why the sisters at the Girls Club recognized the ultimately negative impact of the Homemaking Project, and discontinued it. They also reveal much of the thrust behind the founding of the Worden School of Social Service. Gentemann interview; Valdez, Missionary Catechists, 61; "Stella Maris Clinic," typewritten ms., ACDP.
Gentemann interview.

Sisters Philothea Thiry and Angelique Ayers reflected the attitudinal and policy changes that characterized the social ministry of Catholic sisters in the 1930s and 1940s. These two women used their influence as leaders of their institutions, the Congregation of Divine Providence and Our Lady of the Lake College, to create the Worden School of Social Service as a better weapon to fight poverty in Mexican communities. Before the founding of the Worden School there was a serious shortage of professionally trained social workers in San Antonio despite an obvious need, largely because there were no such training programs in the Texas higher education system. As Sister Thiry explained,

[t]he School nearest us is Tulane, some six hundred miles to the East. To the West, the nearest is in Los Angeles, fourteen hundred miles away, and to the North, there is the St. Louis University School of Social Work, some eleven hundred miles away.[footnote]
Thiry to Lucey, February 1942, quoted in "The Worden School Self-Study," 3, AOLLU.

Apparently, the idea for creating a school of social work in San Antonio sprang from informal talks between Mother Philothea, Sister Angelique, and the bishop of Amarillo, Texas, Robert E. Lucey, in 1936. Lucey believed that "many social problems were related to the lack of professional social workers," and he urged the sisters to consider establishing a school of social work at OLLC. Mother Philothea accepted the challenge and, with Lucey's relentless prodding and formidable support as Archbishop of San Antonio, she and the Sisters of Divine Providence made the school a reality.
[footnote]
Valdez, Missionary Catechists, 59; Stephen A. Privett, The U.S. Catholic Church and its Hispanic Members: The Pastoral Vision of Archbishop

Robert E. Lucey (San Antonio, TX: Trinity University Press, 1988), 142; Gentemann interview.

Thiry's successor, Mother Angelique Ayers, linked social work and catechetical instruction. In 1945 she approved the Missionary Catechists' new constitution, part of which stated that qualified candidates "should be given formal Social Welfare training…"[footnote] In view of the fact that the Catechists were exclusively Mexican-Americans, this policy goal departed significantly from the historical pattern among women's congregations of generally excluding *tejana* nuns from higher educational training. The professionalization in social work acquired by Sister Rachel and Sister Nelda began a shift toward opening up more opportunities for Mexican-origin nuns. It reflected an awareness among some Anglo-American sisters that their Mexican- American colleagues brought special talents and sensitivities to their social ministry, abilities that could make the congregation's work to alleviate poverty more efficient. It was not coincidental, for example, that Mother Angelique chose a bilingual Mexican-American (Sister Mary Nelda Gonzales) to study professional nursing in preparation for work in the Stella Maris Clinic in San Antonio's Mexican West Side. "The fact that they were Spanish-speaking was a determining factor," Sister Immaculate explained; "they understood Mexican American culture."[footnote] Moreover, it is important to recognize that the congregational leadership returned these *tejana* professionals to Mexican communities. Sisters Mary Rachel and Mary Nelda both devoted their careers to the service of Mexican-American communities in San Antonio and Houston.[footnote] They were not educated elites isolated from the Mexican-American parishioners who needed their expertise and understanding.
See Sister Generosa Callahan, Mother Angelique Ayers, Dreamer and Builder of Our Lady of the Lake University (Austin: Pemberton Press, 1981); Valdez, Missionary Catechists, 59.
Telephone interview with Sister Mary Immaculate Gentemann, CDP, 14 October 1997.
Interview with Sister Mary Rachel Moreno, 18 April 1990, San Antonio, Texas; letter from Sister Rachel to the author, 11 July 1990; "Stella Maris Clinic," TMs, ACDP; Valdez, Missionary Catechists, passim.

Mother Angelique also promoted interracial understanding. In 1936 two women wrote to thank her for making possible the presentation of an "Interracial Musical." "In this era of conflict and misunderstanding, it is fine to discover that here in San Antonio, are people of wisdom, sincerity, and a 'will for understanding,' such as you," the letter stated. What today would seem an innocuous event, an "interracial musical" was, in the context of the racial and class tensions of the 1930s, a progressive political statement about race relations. It was risky as well, as the writers of the letter recognized: "We want you to know how deeply appreciative we are of the spirit, which prompted your cooperation, *and the sacrifice you made in doing so*."[footnote] The specific nature of Mother Angelique's "sacrifice" is unknown, but not many people were willing to challenge the racial etiquette of the times. While the archbishop of San Antonio felt "forced" to build separate churches for his White and Mexican parishioners, Mother Angelique facilitated the social mixing of the races in the same city. This testified to the risks some women of the Catholic Church were willing to take while their male superiors bowed to Jim Crow.
Mattie T. Lewis and Edna Morris to Mother Angelique, March 5, 1936, Deans Correspondence Coll., Ayers File, AOLLU (added emphasis).

The authors of the letter sensed that Ayers was "able to recognize and understand the needs and aspirations of other peoples," and they recognized the potential impact she and the nuns at OLLC could have on the larger community by the "transmission of that spirit to large groups of young people." The sisters' attitudes and actions augured well for "smoothing out discords, and establishing a harmony that will tell for the good of our common life," the letter stated.[footnote] Evidence suggests that Ayers' willingness to challenge society's racial "norms" influenced others. Sister Immaculate Gentemann, who taught in the Department of Sociology and later became the Dean of the Worden School, prized the multi-ethnic experiences of those years. Another nun of the same generation, Sister Clara Kliesen, also recounted how the sisters of the Congregation tried to improve race and ethnic relations, despite the prevailing social constraints. [footnote] Ayers apparently promoted ideals that others shared at Our Lady of the Lake College and within the Congregation of the Sisters of Divine Providence, raising a countervailing force to the social discrimination Texas Mexicans faced.

Ibid.
Gentemann interview; interview with Sister Clara Kliesen, CDP, August 7, 1997, San Antonio, Texas.

Such progressive thinking reverberated beyond the convent walls and college classrooms, moving others to engage in Catholic social action. Historian Margaret Thompson has argued that nuns motivated untold numbers of women in history "to follow their example as active participants in the secular realm."[footnote] An example of this is seen in letters written by a laywoman, Virginia Tatton, to her former college mentor, Dean Ayers. These revealing letters testify both to the moral influence of the sisters at OLLC and to the fact that lay Catholics also were grappling in a new way with the "Mexican problem" in Texas in the 1940s. In the summer and autumn of 1942, Tatton wrote excitedly to Ayers after hearing about the new Worden School, and to announce that she had become "wholeheartedly" involved in Archbishop Lucey's "welfare drive" on behalf of Mexicans and Mexican-Americans.[footnote] Lucey was becoming a high-profile leader within the American Catholic Church with his staunch advocacy for Mexican-origin people, especially the migrant farm workers.[footnote] Tatton unabashedly admired the dynamic archbishop, especially "his fearlessness."[footnote] It took courage to promote the rights of a pariah community. Tatton recognized this in Lucey's defense of Texas Mexicans, as others earlier had seen it in Sister Angelique's willingness to promote interracial harmony.

Margaret SusanThompson, "Women and American Catholicism, 1789-1989," in Perspectives on the American Catholic Church, 1789-1989, ed. Stephen J Vicchio and Virginia Geiger (Westminster, MD: Christian Classics, 1989), 128.
Virginia Tatton to Mother Angelique, 13 October 1942; Tatton to Ayers, 17 August 1942, Deans Correspondence Coll., Ayers File, ALLOU.
Saul E. Bronder, Social Justice and Church Authority: The Public Life of Archbishop Robert E. Lucey (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1982).
Tatton to Ayers, 13 October 1942 (original emphasis).

The sacrifice and fearlessness shown by progressive sisters and clergy prompted some laypeople to re-examine their own views on race relations and support new strategies to fight Mexican-American poverty and

inequality. Writings about Catholic social doctrine also inspired some individuals to work for a more just society. Tatton, for example, wrote poignantly about the effects on her own thinking of one particular book that explained the Catholic Church's teachings on social justice. "Have you got it in your library?" she asked Mother Angelique. "We think it ought to be a 'must' book for all Catholic students of economics and of welfare work," she proclaimed. The book was a revelation of self-understanding: "I am so impressed because it has made me see for the first time how I, personally, can contribute in a constructive if small way to the betterment of poor muddled and wretched humanity." Tatton understood that no single person could change society, but she insisted that "if every Catholic felt and saw his responsibility to humanity and would really study and become imbued with the teachings of the Church and moral law . . . then things would begin to improve." The book--and, importantly, her association with the Sisters of Divine Providence and Archbishop Lucey —led her to reevaluate how the dominant ethos had shaped some of her basic beliefs: "I, too, was suffocated by the individualism of the age in which I was born," she confessed. But she had begun to overcome her own shortcomings and society's fetters: "I have only now come to realize my social responsibility in a concrete sort of way," Tatton confided. Enthusiastically she told her mentor she would be working to promote Lucey's program of religious social work among Mexicans in the San Antonio Archdiocese.[footnote] Like others of her time, Tatton experienced the introspection needed to think differently about the "Mexican Problem." Clearly, Catholic mentors had played a large part in shaping the outlook of this new ally in the struggle against Mexican-American inequality.
Tatton to Ayers, 17 August 1942 and 13 October 1942. Tatton's reference was to Virgil Michael, O.S.B., <u>Christian Social Reconstruction</u> (Milwaukee: Bruce, 1937).

Of course the campaign against Mexican-American inequality in Texas would continue to be painfully slow and hard-fought. Despite the signs of progressive changes emerging by the 1930s and 1940s, even those at the forefront of change sometimes revealed a nagging ambivalence about Texas Mexicans, and at times they remained captives of deeply engrained racial myths and social biases. For example, Archbishop Lucey had to fight long and hard to persuade the Sisters of Divine Providence to accept the

Mexican-American Catechists as a group deserving first-rate treatment and support. The congregational leaders initially opposed Lucey's idea to seek papal approval for a separate order of Catechists, and they refused to accept into their own community "a large number of Latin-Americans who would be able to work devotedly amongst their own, but who would have difficulty in adjusting to the Anglo-American culture or way of thinking that is now characteristic of our group."[footnote]
Privett, The U.S. Catholic Church, 126-33; quote on p. 129.

Yet these were the same sisters who had begun taking steps to break with the past. In order to understand such contradictory behavior we must keep in mind that in the 1940s social change was a halting and uneven process, one that was impelled as much as it was checked by some of the major forces that shaped the decade —ethnic and class tensions, and the dislocations of war. By the 1940s, Catholic sisters and other Americans were becoming increasingly uneasy with Jim Crow and a disturbing sense of impending upheaval loomed. World War II particularly upset the social order and disquieted individuals, often bringing out the worst in people. "We have so many neglected souls, and this war is not helping them to be better," a sister wrote in 1945. "Race hatred is everywhere," she reported, "and we see signs of it on all sides."[footnote] Some people at times were overwhelmed "with gasoline rationing . . . and with all the other complications of trying to keep things going in war time."[footnote] As a result of these strains, self-interest and the comfort of established ways prevailed over ideals that were more easily articulated than lived; it was easier to acquiesce than to challenge Jim Crow.
Sister Mary of Grace [to Mother Angelique Ayers], 7 January 1945, Deans Correspondence Coll., Ayers File, AOLLU.
Tatton to Ayers, 13 October 1942.

The illiberal positions that progressive Catholics sometimes took reflect their human flaws and the fact that doubts and ambivalence sometimes plagued even well-intentioned Catholics who believed in social equality. Tatton's ruminations, for instance, revealed the uncertainties triggered by her introspection about the moral issues and shifting social landscape of the time, as well as some illogical conclusions she drew as she tried to come to terms with her own views on race, religion, and class in Jim Crow Texas.

Thus, the same letters that projected a liberal social consciousness and embraced efforts to help the Mexican poor, also spoke condescendingly about "[t]hese southern negroes," portraying them as childish and improvident.[footnote] Tatton's letters and some aspects of the relationship between the Mexican- American Catechists and the Sisters of Divine Providence illuminate much about Catholic women who challenged Jim Crow *despite* their human limitations. This underside of otherwise progressive Catholics shows how closely entwined class and color were in Jim Crow Texas, and how thorny the path was for those who took the tentative first steps toward dismantling that society.
Ibid.

The demise of Jim Crow and the advent of significant social gains by Texas Mexicans would await the great catalysts of World War II and the Civil Rights era.[footnote] But in the meantime, Catholic sisters and people they had influenced had begun to confront and resolve their paradoxical relationship to Texas Mexicans and social inequality. Through their personal agency, these women enhanced the viability of Texas Mexican families and communities by offering needed social services, inspiring others to work for social justice, and opening professional opportunities for *tejana* nuns, those destined to become role models for future generations. Moreover, as pioneers in religious social work, these women contributed substantively to the development of the American social welfare system. As they chipped away at race prejudice and social discrimination aimed at Texas Mexicans, Catholic nuns forged ties with the modern civil rights movement. Clearly, they had their faults and the pace of change they promoted seems glacial by today's standards. Nonetheless, by the mid-twentieth century Catholic sisters could be counted among the precursors of impending social change as, however imperfectly, they prepared the soil for greater social justice in the future.
Montejano, Anglos and Mexicans in the Making of Texas, chapter 12.

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Roberto R. Treviño is Professor at The University of Texas at Arlington.

A Reflection: Function of Religiousness in the Hispanic Community in the USA and its Comparison With Spain
The Mexican town is deeply religious. Religiousness impregnates its life in such a way that it will surely influence any event, happy or sad, triumph or failure. The cultural values and religious experiences of its ethnic group constitute the spine of their existence.

A Reflection: Function of Religiousness in the Hispanic Community in the USA and Its Comparison With Spain

Father D. José Gil Márquez

Religiousness also forms an essential part of its principles— traditions and customs— appearing in all details of its daily life, even in the most insignificant ones. Its houses; language, which sanctions blasphemy (these people leave the presence of a person who blasphemes); the citation of the Peregrination when marching to protest; and religious symbols like sponsors of some event (Guadalupana in strikes of Delano and Salinas). All religious or social events; such as baptisms, communions, marriages or

deaths; also quinceañeras, strikes, encounters, are celebrated with mariachis, shared meals and drinks.

Ancestral religion provides a background in which nature weighs heavily; it cohabitates with Christianity without creating any problem, while influencing their vision of the world, others, and themselves. They speak of spirits, *La llorona*, healers, card readers, always with religious reverence.

I am an admirer of the capacity this race has to harmonize heterogeneous, opposite, and even contradictory principles! The capacity of this culture to maintain their ontological selves while integrating, agglutinating, and giving sense to antagonism, frustration and desire, constitutes the culture's most powerful key.

In this sense, the absence of conflict between the deep Christian religiousness of the farmer Mexican and the secularized Chicana culture in its multiple manifestations calls the attention. The Chicana culture stirs something in the same indigenous roots of the farmer; the secularized Chicano cannot completely detach himself from his Christian roots, transmuting religious forms to mystic ones. The objective of this is the salvation of the race.

From its deep religious principles it derives its vision of the universe; a totality organized by the creator where each creature is different from the others, and has different functions to fulfill. Something similar happens in humans' social relations; each one takes his or her place and has a mission to fulfill. This mission has to be respected so as not to alter the social order, demanding personal and familiar respect as well as fame, honor, dignity, and its customs and traditions.

The vindicated fight goes in this directiom to demand justice and personal dignity in face of paternalistic abuse, to fight by all means until the end, and to maintain its cultural identity and integrity with its rich traditions and customs. All this comes at the risk of being absorbed and crushed by the dominant and powerful North American society.

In Europe, I have not found the same intensity in the fight between classes, or the idea common in western conflicts to want to eliminate or humiliate

the enemy, or the desire to seize lands because they must be for workers or revolutionaries. I have found the desire for integration by living a worthy personal, familiar, and community life; the desire to improve work conditions; the desire for cultural identity and lifestyle to be respected; and the exigency of active participation in the society in which he or she wishes to integrate his or her self.

This insistence in maintaining cultural identity and traditions are not meant as isolation from social context, but rather to defend the races' roots, because if they do not know where they come from they will not know where they are going. In addition, they want to be able to share their cultural wealth with other ethnic groups until they arrive to that cosmic, universal race, which Vasconcelos stated (Paris, 1925) would occur at the encounter of all biologies and cultures. Juan Paul II used to say, "When diverse peoples find themselves integrating, they give life to a coexistence of difference." I believe we walk toward this form of coexistence.

The Influence of Catholicism in the Process of Integration

The following are some of the aspects in which religiousness has influenced remarkable results:

1. Unity in the face of difficulty, integrating different groups and ideologies. Religious spaces became places where they met to engage in dialog, present their problems, look for solutions, and acquire the knowledge key to being able to develop in the new society.
2. Maintenance and expression of cultural traditions: celebrations, parties, weddings, quinceañeras, dinners, meetings, planning of trips to see new places, etc.…
3. Nourishment of motivating ideas and reference before problems and economic and ethical vindications (continuous are the references to God and the dignity of the people in conflict).
4. Promotion of nonviolence during difficult moments of provocation.
5. Creation of conscience in the North American community of the problems that Hispanics suffered.
6. Reconciliation between those who betrayed the cause with those who sustained their ideals in the conflicts. How much reconciliation in

Christmas celebrations, New Years, religious celebrations, and weddings!

7. Creation of a bridge of knowledge and understanding between very different forms of culture, but that possess the same faith and are guided by the evangelical message of the Lord toward a Universal Brotherhood. The relationship of many was perceived, not from viewpoint of power and disproportionate dominance of the race, but of personal dignity and respect for different forms of life and coexistence.
8. Enrichment and rejuvenation of the Hispanic Catholic North American Church.
9. Understanding, acceptance, and defense of the Chicano; fruit of that "metamorphosis" resulting from integration into the dominant culture where they lose part of their cultural identity and partly gain that of the dominant majority society that receives them. How many times I have inwardly said: "it is them, but they are not the same."

The Virgin of Guadalupe deserves mention aside; she is an affective and harmonizing center to the utmost because she is considered Queen and Universal Mediator, and where all the conflicts and problems find aid and understanding:

1. She is the Mother of the Lord and also our Mother. That is why she protects us and intervenes for us. That is her mission.
2. But the Virgin of Guadalupe is Mexican, racially mixed, with dark complexion and Indian characteristics. She represents poor and humble Mexico. She appears to Juan Diego, who is a "nobody," but not for the conquistadores. In the oldest narration of the Guadalupanan appearances translated from the Náhuatl, it is told that when Juan Diego cries out because they do not believe him be messenger of the Virgin he says:

Thus I request earnestly Lady and Girl of Mine, that to some main people, well-known, respected and considered, you order to believe in your message, because I am a little man, I am a cord, I am a stairway of boards, I am tail, I am leaf, I am minute, and You, Girl of mine, smallest of my daughters, Lady, you send me to a place I do not walk nor stop. Forgive me

for causing great sorrow to you and falling into your anger, Lady and Owner of mine.

But Juan Diego continues to be the one in charge of going to the White man –bishops and missionaries— to demand the construction of a chapel where she may be venerated. In his robe the image of the Lady with Indian clothes and symbols is imprinted. It was the indigenous Juan Diego, not a White man, who presented a Mother to a race that was half-destroyed partly by Aztec royalty, and partly by the sweeping violence of the conquistadors.

It was Juan Diego, not the White man, who presented an unblemished, Virgin Mother who assumes all contradictions of the Indian-Hispanic cultural process. She is ours; the Mexicans'. She symbolizes a new racially mixed reality, harmonizes two very different cultures, while putting herself on the side the poor, squashed, conquered Indian. She continues lead this race, indicating to them that although they encounter and integrate into other cultures, they must not lose the essence of their identity. For me, the great miracle of the Guadalupana is not that her image remains in the robe of Juan Diego, but the intensity with which it is recorded in the heart of every Mexican wherever he or she is.

Some Similarities and Many Differences to the Situation in Spain

A slogan that made me laugh whenever I came for vacations reflects the Spanish way of being and thinking: "Spain is different." I would say now "we were different" because we lived in a world of "virginal purity" in which we did not have any occasion to be racist. In talking with people of my surroundings, we mostly agreed on principles and values: personal dignity, equal opportunity, love and respect for all. But one day I asked "Would you marry one of your children to a gypsy?" "I would rather die," some answered to me.

There is no doubt that in the last decades Spaniards have progressed in our openness toward others of different cultures. But, I think that with migration they are beginning a long-lasting process, whose birth toward a construction of a new civilization is based on the mixing of races,

intercultural encounters, and the plural coexistence that this supposes. It will be a very laborious birth, difficult and full of pain and tears.

The presence of immigrants is necessary in Spain and the rest of Europe. The U.N., in its recent report on Human Development, recommended that Europe duplicate its number of immigrants until 2050 in order to compensate for the aging of its population and the low national population.

More than 16% of the children born last year in Spain are of foreign mothers or fathers. Many schools have not closed in our towns thanks to the children of immigrants. Social Security quotes that immigration has influenced, without a doubt, the annual surplus that accounts register for the past few years.

Can western countries maintain their development without the immigrant work force? It seems not. These countries are in need of more of these forces.

Migrant groups move in large numbers. About 180 million people per year move from their countries to tell us, one way or another, globalization is not just about economics, but that it makes us interdependent and in need each of other. They also tell us that inequality and injustice generate wars and violence; that the borders and sovereignties that were created to protect citizens are "softening" and no longer serve what they were created for. Does somebody know where terrorism is installed? It can be anywhere, and no nation in the world, no matter how powerful it may be, can feel free from it.

A powerful "planetary community" is being created, accumulating and empowering more people all the time. However, members of this community have had to leave their lives the border, at Straits of Gibraltar or the Grande River. This begs the question: "How do I see the situation of the immigrants in Spain?" I will enumerate several points that worry me about the future:

The loss of Europe's soul. Europe has lost much of its spirit and has almost been left without soul, with which this supposes a loss of ideals and values. Excluding the exceptions, Europeans live well, consume, have much, and

pretend to have "a blast," but do they think? Do they have interest in their own growth? Do they cultivate their spirit? Do they sacrifice themselves for someone or something? I am afraid not.

The materialist perspective. The European view of those who arrive is focused on the material. They like having an immigrant work force, but do not attempt to discover any personal nuclei of feelings and values, family relationships, desires and frustrations in a world strange to them. Europeans prefer not to have them as neighbors. I have seen presumptuous protest because immigrants were seated on benches in the park, while the European could not find a seat.

The need for a new perspective. We need change our perspective so as not see immigrants only as instruments for work, but as human beings who can enrich us with their ways of life while contributing substantial help for something we cannot or do not want to do. The Catholic Church fights to change this perspective. But it is not easy in the atmosphere in which we live.

The historic inability to peaceably disagree. Our national history has not been permeable to encounters with other cultures. For example, Spaniards expulsed the Moors and Jews in the crusades, "tackling" anyone who got in front, and during the Inquisition, slaughtered those who did not think like they. Present day, there are those in Spain who continue to visualize a division into two Spains.

If one does not think like us on politics, religion, or even soccer, they become almost a personal enemy and it is necessary to attack. We have not been able to integrate ourselves well enough to peaceably reach agreements, mark intermediate solutions catalytic of the diverse cultures and styles of life, or to arrive at a fecund and enriching mixture of races. The change toward more flexible and permeable mentalities is neither easy nor fast.

Personally, I felt very disoriented during my first contact with the Hispanic culture. I had to learn its racially mixed schemes of thought and ways of life, as well as its mixed schemes of the good and the bad. The good and the bad normally cohabit within the same person or reality. Its reality is the fruit of many encounters, varied shades that work with other cultural coordinates

to perceive and solve the conflicts. I felt like I was swimming in ambiguity until I learned its way of being and acting.

Now, my problem is here with my compatriots and companions. In many circumstances I feel frightened and sometimes disoriented by their radical thoughts and decisions, the sharp and aggressive attitude which lacks respect for the opinion of others and does not look for a unifying consensus. At times I even feel attacked and intimidated by the Spanish here, as my Spanish now shows an Hispanic influence.

New Values and Principles

What values and principles help us to have a positive approach toward those who arrive and an attitude of conjunction toward the new reality that approaches? Religion has lost much intensity and effectiveness in Spain, especially among young people. The Catholic Church makes an effort to extend to and help newcomers, but its staff is insufficiently prepared for these necessities, and still lacks the shelters it is trying to obtain through the diverse Dioceses. Its work is more canalized toward welfare, charity, and the creation of a new consciousness by means of publishing documents. Unfortunately, these documents have little circulation.

Some schools and organizations are trying to help. But to my understanding, these have little means and effectiveness. How many centers, like Cemira, which is doing an invaluable job, exist in our dear Spain? Some municipalities are helping the adoption of diverse cultures, but these also have little support. Perhaps the most worrisome problem is the fanaticism of those who take the poison of violence: in offensive messages, posters, tactics of intimidation, manifest violence, threats and scorns, ridicule in sports events. As I said at the beginning, I anticipate a birth of a difficult and painful future.

I want to end by showing my thanks to Hispanics for the wealth that they have given me by teaching me to dream in a different world; by finding me with their songs, customs, traditions, and meals so different from mine; and accepting me like one of theirs without demanding anything from me whatsoever. They have helped me to discover myself with their gift of

knowing where one's true wealth lies, and have taught me to love in a spontaneous and natural form because they loved and valued me with all their the heart.

Father D. José Gil Márquez is a Licensed Psychologist, Master in Family Therapy (in California), and Catholic Priest (In Extremadura).

Faith as an Instrument of Integration Among Islamic Immigrants: The Case of Extramadura (Spain), A New Civilization
The present investigation is about the basic support–from the standpoint of religiosity—that Islamic immigrants who arrive to the Independent Community of Extremadura, along with Latin Americans, contribute to the newly arrived workers in Extremadura.

Faith as an Instrument of Integration in Islamic Immigrants: The Case of Extremadura (Spain), A New Civilization

Domingo Barbolla Camarero

The present investigation is about the basic support–from the standpoint of religiosity—that Islamic immigrants who arrive to the Independent Community of Extremadura, along with Latin Americans, contribute to the newly arrived workers in Extremadura. The selected theoretical model is different from the one presented by Samuel Huntington, with his mythical book: The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order (1996). In the mentioned text, Latin American countries are considered as their own civilization and "confronted" with the west –fundamentally as a danger to the U.S. The greatest differences between nations are now cultural rather than political, economic, or ideological. It is still manifested in his text, that the cultures and cultural identities would be shaping the levels of cohesion, disintegration, and conflict in the post-Cold War period of the world. My

position would be more in consonance with authors –like professor Tomás Calvo Buezas–who understand that a new civilization is dawning. The religious contribution of the Latin-American immigrants and the religious experience of Islamic immigrants reinforce Claude Levi-Strauss' (1973) position—that civilization implies the coexistence of culture—because of the almost 15 years of coexistence of all of them. The sample population will be Islamic immigrants who live in Extremadura—national Moroccans who came from the countryside of Oujda (province in north Morocco—and that as of 1991, were settled in the orography that conforms the Tietar River, which irrigates the cultivation of tobacco in the zone of Talayuela, and the Latin American immigrants who also work in that locality. In Extremadura, 57% of the immigrant population is of Moroccan nationality, concreting a nucleus (more than 50% in the Talayuela zone). The religious experience is deeply marked by the rural surroundings that are similar to their place of origin. This substantively marks their actions; and for that reason, the analysis is centered on these groups which are fervent believers in Allah.

NATIONALITIES (Talayuela)	Year 2001	Year 2002	Year 2003
ALGERIA	32	47	38
ARGENTINA	0	1	0
BRAZIL	5	6	8
BULGARIA	0	1	1
COLOMBIA	27	32	29
CUBA	1	1	1

ECUADOR	146 (3.3)	127 (2.7)	110 (2.5)
FRANCE	3	3	3
ITALY	1	1	3
JORDAN	0	1	2
LITUANIA	6	6	1
MOROCCO	4.122 (93.2)	4.401 (93.3)	4.050 (93.2)
MAURITANIA	0	1	1
LOW PAISES	1	1	1
POLAND	5	5	3
PORTUGAL	23	32	30
CZECH REPUBLIC	2	3	3
REP.DOMINICAN	6	1	3
RUMANIA	14	13	13
SENEGAL	29 (0.7)	30 (0.6)	35 (0.8)
The UKRAINE	2	2	1
ETIOPIA	0	0	1
The PHILIPPINES	0	0	1
RUSSIA	0	0	1

SYRIA	0	0	4
SWITZERLAND	0	0	1
TOTAL	4.425	4.715	4.344

Figure 1. Picture of evolution of foreigners by nationalities of the municipal register of Talayuela (2001- 2003).

Source: My own elaboration through data of municipal register of Talayuela

Religiosity is an exponent of integration for the Islamic immigrants who live in Talayuela (Cáceres). Through field work, we investigated to find if the religiosity of the Islamic immigrant in Extremadura is a factor of integration or of a more or less latent conflict; that is to say, up to what point does he or she accommodate to the welcoming society, or otherwise legitimize the attitudes and actions of revolt that can generate situations of violence like those of March 11th. At the same time, cultural or social factors, when mixed with religiosity, serve as an integration process or feeds to the confliction potential, serving as broth of culture to pre-terrorist attitudes.

If September 11, 2001 marked a before and after in international relations, and by extension in the daily coexistence between individuals of different cultures that inhabit the same geographic and temporary place, March 11th also marked that duality in our country. In accordance with Samuel Huntington's thinking, civilizations like the western, the Muslim, and the Chinese, - among the main ones – are replacing previous ideologies and nations, reason why the great differences between nations are now cultural more than political, economic, or ideological. Cultures and cultural identities shape the levels of cohesion, disintegration, and conflict in the post-Cold War period of the world. Following the American trail - with a certain European slant -, Giovanni Sartori, in his book Pluralism, Multiculturalism and Foreigners: an Essay on Multiethnic Society (2001), maintains that there are civilizations that are "pregnant" with conflict with others; thus it is said that "the problem is the Islam" with respect to the integration of its believers in the western societies.

Mikel Azurmendi, like many, maintains that the immigrants must be treated as individuals, adapting their individual projects to the welcoming society, and not as cultural groups that destroy coexistence. That's why every cultural manifestation of the Islam believers must be rejected. Similarly, Miguel Herrero de Miñón, "advises" to receive immigrants who share our western patterns, in detriment of "others" more difficult to integrate. In another conciliation slope, Ryszard Kapuscinski is in favor of prudence, not to emphasize the opposite elements, because otherwise the "clash of civilizations" has no turning back, nor winners or losers, we'd all lose.

More optimistic on the result of possible multicultural scenes are the academics and intellectuals Sami Nair, Tomás Calvo Buezas, Bernabé Lopez, Joaquin Arango, and many more. For them, the planet, the Europe of the future, and therefore Spain, will be more and more a pluricultural and multiethnic mosaic, nourished with emigrants and ethnic groups of the Third World, with differentiated ways of life from those of the western cultures. If we don't learn to coexist together in the differences, increased racism and xenophobia is foreseeable, with a new outbreak of ethnic conflicts, and therefore of the terrorism as an "entrenched" answer of the minorities. For these authors, cultural diversity is a wealth of all complex, democratic, and plural societies. Dynamic cultures and artistic creativity can only evolve and transform if there is a dialectic interaction between plurality and homogeneity, generating new syncretic impulses and influences that dynamize the established cultural forms. The history of civilizations is the history of the encounters of different people.

In this dilemma of opinions, some voices consider the inevitable confrontation between the two civilizations: Muslims and the western civilization, the first one with "bloody borders." Others emphasize the enriching challenge that involves the permanent encounter of the variety of ways "of being human." The two visions are conscious of the risks that coexistence entails from very distant values. Next to the rejection of the Muslim immigrants on behalf of the welcoming society, is the organized terrorism on behalf of those who feel "outraged" in their identity, which is fed from their religious sphere. This brings about our investigation, through the field work in Extremadura, to show if the Islamic religiosity of the immigrants who arrive at Extremadura is a factor of integration, or the

opposite, as a brake for the coexistence in the new society. Does Islam integrate or even reinforce its positions of origin, reaching a radical position of terrorism? This is the basic question in the process of this investigation. The young immigrants who arrived with their parents, do they assume Islam as a global answer in their new lives? Or on the contrary, do they renounce it? It is easier to investigate on Christian religiosity of the Latin American immigrants who in the beginning - considering the slope of Liberation Theology - occupied sacred and identical settings. In reality, I describe different religious experiences from the immigrants and their consequences in Extremadura society.

Religious Experience of the Moroccan Immigrants

SURA I

In the name of GOD, Most Gracious, Most Merciful.

SURA II

Verse 255- profession of Muslim faith.

GOD: there is no other god besides Him, the Living, the Eternal. Never a moment of unawareness or slumber overtakes Him. To Him belongs everything in the heavens and everything on earth. Who could intercede with Him, except in accordance with His will? He knows their past, and their future. No one attains any knowledge, except as He wills. His dominion encompasses the heavens and the earth, and ruling them never burdens Him. He is the Most High, the Great.

SURA CXIII: THE SURA OF DAWN NACIENTE

Say, "I seek refuge in the Lord of daybreak.

From the evils among His creations.

From the evils of darkness as it falls.

From the evils of the troublemakers.

From the evils of the envious when they envy."

Morocco is an Islamic state, an Islamic country, with Islamic towns; as are their inhabitants, in Morocco and in the zone of Talayuela. Moroccan immigrants in Talayuela are, according to their definition, religious. They believe in the Oneness of God, they believe Mahommed was sent by God, they believe in the angels and demons, there is nothing more than the Absolute one, and that death and poverty are relative. They have the obligation to go, once in their lifetime, to Mecca; to give alms; to fast in the Ramadan; to abstain from eating impure animals; and to have five daily prayers. They are thankful by the expressions of the prophet and hospitable because every person is the disguised face of Allah.

I find myself before a group that "is culturally religious" I can ask myself if they are all like that and to what degree. Before this question, I found different levels of belief and different commitments before it.

Moroccans with a Lot of Faith: Islamic Sanctity

For Madani, his belief in Islam is everything; every moment of his life is guided, measured by the expression of his faith. "None equals Him!" This phrase is from SURA CXII, it is radically true for Madani. It fulfills all the rules of his faith; he is "incapable" of going off course, to do something that contradicts the Koran. Madani is happy at his 48 years, with his wife and eight children, with his seasonal work away from his loved ones, in a country he barely understands and with an uncertain future. He has all the conditions to think of life as a burden, and nevertheless..., the answer is his God, Allah, the Eternal one. Alan Wats, (1995, p. 19) stated, "the difference between the modern, educated, uncertain, and neurotic believer, and the calm dignity and inner peace of the old fashioned believer, makes him an enviable man." That is Madani for us: an enviable man, who comes from a countryside of the Third World, a man with little "culture," a man with few things, many "burdens" however..., AN ENVIABLE MAN.

Moroccans with Faith: Follow the Rules

Just as Madani, Mohammed, 34 years old, married and with three children, also comes from rural surroundings, with little academic culture and great faith in Allah. For him, the most important thing is family; a family which involves all types of kinship, and his God. He lives with Mohammed of 47 years and Said of 27; the three have the same type of faith, the three represent the convinced Moroccans, "I seek refuge in the Lord of daybreak" (SURA CXIII). The carpet facing the East is their most valuable relic in their house, from which they say their daily prayers. If they are busy with field work, they stop and look for the answer of life, which is Him, the Eternal one. They do not drink alcohol, do not eat impure animals, they respect their elders, they do not rob, they comply with fasting of the Ramadan. Everything can happen nothing has importance, nor poverty or wealth; everything is good.

Beza and Achor can also be put in this group; they are socially worse off than their previous companions, but are also integrated in this type of religiosity. If Madani is an isolated case of "Islamic sanctity," Mohammed, Said, Mohammed, Beza, and Achor are the most numerous group of Moroccan immigrants of the zone, as far as their religious expression. They are part of the simple people of the countryside group, those that do not question their faith, as if they had read the text of the Cloud of Unknowing, which says: "thought cannot understand God" (English Anonymous of the XIV Century, 1995:182).

Moroccans with Faith: God Encircles both Religions (Islam and Christianity)

Not everyone forms part of this unbreakable faith, others are capable of coexisting with our culture without being belligerent, and understanding that there is a God that encircles both religions, Christianity and Islam. This is Haly's belief; God understands everything, and that whole gives him tranquility and allows him to adapt to his new life. Haly and Habbas are young university students from urban zones. Both are married to Spaniards; both assume their faith and extend it to the new adopted faith or live without becoming attached to the strict norms of their Moroccan companions. In his ample faith, alcohol and women are included; giving alms is not, nor is it necessary to fast during Ramadan. The important thing

is to be "good people" and to help others. To respect and to be respected is Habbas' motto.

Moroccans with a More Relaxed Faith

Taib, 24 years old; Mahjoub, 28; Kados, 30; Arby, 28; and Abdendi, 36, form, along with others, the group of young people who follow Allah's will in a more relaxed form. Some are university students, others are not but they hold certain academic culture. All have been in Spain for several years and some in other countries. They are religious but..., they are not infatuated with their God. They are "almost" westernized; but most don't eat pork. They are flexible regarding their faith and spend their lives arguing "other values" more than those which are strictly religious. In spite of their flexibility, or perhaps for that reason, they constitute a group of disillusioned Moroccan immigrants of the First World system. When you do not have a religious anchorage, the disillusionment is worse, which puts them at risk of radicalizing their positions as they do not receive benefits from the new culture. Arby has a scheme of returning to Morocco and marrying a "radical" woman, that is to say, those that assume the faith in a total form; he probably wont, but he thinks about doing it, we believe its his answer to the lack of expectations here.

Brahim and Bouzki bet on Islamic radicalism. Giles Keppel (1994, p. 30) says: "Without a job, possibilities of prospering, and without ideologies that allow to dream in a different world, religions, and not only Islam, constitute an attractive supply of social integration and individual hope." Peculiarly, we believe that this group of people, with a nomadic faith, is that which eventually comes to compose Islamic radical groups. Men as Madani or Mohammed do not need more extremism or violence in their lives, but those who are discontent with both systems do.

Moroccans Who Complain about Their Faith

If all the previous people can be described as religious men who assume the cultural values of their surroundings, and religion is a marrow aspect of the Moroccan society, then it is practically a theocratic government that directs the intentions of Morocco. The previous, as we say, are part of the many

that make up the religious fan of the nation. Moktar and Yahya are "different" from the system. They are the only ones we have heard complain about the faith of their ancestors. To them, Islam is a Chinese tale; it is worse than that, it is the base of the system that strangles its nation. They come from Jerama, a mining city; the city of disease and death of many, and the city of wealth for a few. Moktar and Yahya denounce this robbery of the State, the religious State. Their religion is to fight for their own. They do not believe in anything more than the liberation of the nation. Their faith is the democracy of the land, the government of those who do not govern. They, the poor men, are the good ones. The rich ones –those who hold the power of the State – are bad. Religion is the fight for liberation, the fight of the poor – their fight. They intellectualize their atheism and turn it into a fight as an exit to their pain; they untiringly work for the rights of Moroccan immigrants. Instead of not drinking alcohol, they speak at bars of how to obtain better homes and better wages. Instead of fasting, they visit each other to become stronger, instead of praying, they work to obtain equality for all. As Alan Wats (1995, p. 19) indicated

it seems [mankind] is incapable of living without the myth, the belief that routine and exhausting work, the pain and fear of this life, have some meaning and an objective in the future. New myths are born instantly..., political and economic myths with outlandish promises of the best futures in the present world. Those myths provide the individual with a certain sensation that a meaning exists, making them become part of a vast effort in which they lose part of their own emptiness and solitude. Nevertheless, the violence itself of these political religions reveals the hidden anxiety, because they are nothing more than the oppression of men who shout and support each other in the dark.

Moroccans Who Momentarily Overlook Their Faith

Rakea and Abdelkarin believe in Allah, but do not practice their faith lately. For a while, they have not prayed as they have not had strength. Everything goes wrong, and when everything goes wrong, one cannot direct her or his self to the Great One. "This is almost opposite of us, for we remembered God when things go wrong to ask for help." Rakea cries when telling that he does not pray, as if she is ashamed of it. She doesn't even condescend to

approach, even in thought, to the "King of men." Later, when things improve, when there is work, she will return to her daily prayers of thanksgiving.

All the believers try to be in Morocco during the month of Ramadan. They program their jobs to be able to spend that month with their people. There are no mosques in the zone, only a small premise that serves as a gathering place and for prayer – in one occasion the place was fitted to a celebration day; there are very few that are present throughout the year in this zone to construct one, and with few economic resources. Nonetheless, each house is a place for prayer.

An Example of "Integration"

Madani forms part of the Moroccan immigrants who are in Spain solely to make money by working, send it home, and to give a better life to his relatives. Madani is, apparently, a simple man, more so than the rest. He is 48 years old, has eight sons and was born in P.Berkane. He has been in Spain since 1990, hardly understands the language, and his formation is basic. He has been working for several years with the same owner, but he does not have a habitual salary for time worked. He begins work next to Ahmmed, both are the only ones to be wage-earners from the entire field. Ahmmed begins with the seedbeds and Madani with the transplants. Both work out in the sun. There is no schedule, and they only get a few hours of rest per day and Sunday afternoons off, for all of this they receive 900 euros a month. Madani is there till late November, after that he will work in the olive field in Jaén; he will be with some friend of other fields and will complete his work in Spain and return to Morocco in January, just before Ramadan. He has never missed this religious obligation, it is very important, even more than his life; as important or more than his family. He is a very religious man, which is reflected in his daily prayers, the exact fulfillment of the rules of the Koran. He helps those who have less and has a smile and a supporting shoulder for everyone.

Madani lives with eight companions in a house he rents from his employer. In the shared room is an old bed base, a foam mattress, and blankets. Besides his suitcase, his old clothes, and a carpet for prayer, these are his

only belongings in Spain. He makes food with two others. Between the three, they share everything, but it is a group aside from the rest of the house. Sometimes they do common activities, for example a dinner at the end of the field work. He does not eat pork, does notdrink, respects his wife, does not have a car, saves all the money for his family, and yet he always seems to be happy. He is always willing to work, never complains, he does not speak badly of his King: I can hardly believe it. They are of the kind of men who practically don't exist. For Madani everything is good, there are no "buts;" I cannot understand it. I see him walking down the highway when he needs to buy things; he never asks to be taken there, he only goes when it is convenient for those who live with him. The others treat him with the respect he deserves for his age, but his religiosity is, at times, an object of certain ridicule. He requested for family aid for his children, 3000 pesetas a month, but Social Security requested a certificate to prove that he did not receive it in Morocco, but he does not receive anything from his country.

Madani does all kinds of things in the field: changes sprinklers, gathers leaves, repairs the walkways. He is willing to work at any hour of the day, except those established for prayer. Day after day, facing Mecca, he offers the tribute of his prayer to Allah; he thanks Him for his luck, for everything life gives him. He is a true patriarch; he doesn't have eight children in vain. He distributes food with fairness, equal for all; he knows how to be fair. Almost everything he earns he saves to send to his family in Morocco, he only works for them and nothing else. He spends his part on food for the three, for paperwork, and to travel. Madani is part of the Moroccan immigrants who are solely in Spain to make money by working, to send it home, and to give a better life to his relatives; dozens of people depend on him; his wife, children, brothers, nephews, cousins. He is responsible for feeding all these people. He has found a job with certain stability; he will return to his employer in the tobacco and olive field every year.

Madani does not dream of remaining in Spain and bringing his family; he does not dream about the glories of the western world, he does not hate his King or his God; he simply finds in our country the work he lacks in Morocco. Spain is only the means, not an objective. His objective is Morocco, his people, and Allah. He hardly speaks Spanish but that is not

very necessary for he does. He fulfills his role and knows clearly what he wants. He is not integrated, nor does he need to be. He lives with us, feeds his family with his work, which is the only thing that matters to him and to his employers.

Summary

In summary; I understand that Moroccan immigrants in the zone are mostly religious, as a cultural expression of their country of origin, transferring their faith to their new place of establishment. They transfer it with small modifications depending on different factors. I find individual elements of sanctity worthy to recognize and to envy. These people are transferred by their faith to a daily paradise in which the recognized hardships are transformed into praise to Allah, the Great one, the Only one, the Merciful one; it is as if nothing was real, nothing outside their circle of faith. Faith is very important to the majority; they must fulfill the norms of their God, the rules of the Koran, and they do. No one misses daily prayer in the month of Ramadan. They do not drink alcohol, nor do they go with women. They live like this in a natural way; it forms part of their original culture, their rural culture. In spite of the importance of the faith of the majority of the Moroccan immigrants, they do not have mosques to read the Koran and to pray, except for the place fitted for celebration days in Talayuela.

The immigrants who have university studies focus on their faith in a different way. They are more relaxed regarding their customs and quickly adapt to the laicism of customs of the place, or they look for arguments to interrelate both religious approaches: their own and the new one in their destination. On the other hand, I found that college students who intellectually strengthen their faith radicalize their positions until reaching an integrist exposition. No matter what, their principles are very radical, although their behaviors are very relaxed.

I also came across Moroccans who deny their faith. They are those who consider that faith as a "hoax," "a deceit to the nation," and prefer to dedicate themselves to work in unions and associations to defend the interests of their people. These are the atheists of Islam, convinced of the pain caused by the false hope in their nation. If the others pray, they do not;

if the others do not eat pork, they do; if the others do not drink, they often get drunk; if the others are submissive to power and to God, they rebel. They tend to be college students with bad luck; they are intelligent people who rebel, mainly, against their "bad luck."

It is easy to recognize that age, place of origin, cultural level, and time of permanence in Spain are factors that affect the way of living one's faith. Without having exhaustive data we see that, except for exceptional cases, older Moroccans who come from countryside, with little academic level, children in Morocco, and just a short time in Spain, have a more rooted faith than the young people from urban zones, who possess greater academic studies, less familiar responsibilities, and have greater permanence in Spain. They tend to be relaxed about their customs and adapt better to the lay rate of the new culture. Some have a very rooted faith, but the adaptation to our culture implies changes, changes that some are already implementing in their religious way of life.

Conclusion: Religiosity as a Factor of a New Civilization

I compromised to show that the theory that has circulated with more vigor in the last decade on possible international confrontation—as is the clash of civilizations—has no sense in concrete scenarios, especially when these possible discrepancies are exerted in the same context of time and space. Talayuela, with a population of less than 12,000 inhabitants, is able to live in a cultural diversity that encircles the "evils" to which are referenced by Samuel Huntington. I centered fundamentally in the religious monotheistic nuclei.

Contradicting the possibility of the fight of civilizations, the religious experience of the people, whatever it might be, can be exerted as a uniting factor of experiences that contribute to the integration in the most complex and deteriorated systems on the part of the receiving society. Supporting suffering situations, a lack of expectations, extreme poverty, marginalization, and an opening to new realities that end up becoming new perception, it is possible, from a firm belief in their God. The provisions filled with securities in their parents' God serves them to "understanding" the new things even if it is not the best. I have seen how the experiences of

the Islamic immigrants who work in Talayuela reinforces the faith for some, while others move away from it. I have not seen situations in which faith fights against the welcoming society, or in which those with no faith fight to obtain justice for everyone.

The past 15 years are a sample that not only diversity is possible, but that it is the real thing in many places of the world. Talayuela is one of them, but not considered in the framework of Professor Huntington. The battle to find the framework that makes coexistence possible after this apparent contradiction, is not other than to understand that we are at the beginning of a new civilization that will be fed by the multiple and complex diversity that has been formed throughout ten thousand years and that now pleads to be unified in that same diversity. Talayuela visualizes a future scenario – that already is present among their people – in which the fight to maintain the identity is not synonymous of a bloody conflict or of destruction of those who are different. Rather, it seems these experiences are telling us that it is possible to be diverse, in peace.

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Domingo Barbolla Camarero is a professor of Social Anthropology at the University of Extramadura, Spain.

Immigration and Religion: Rituals Alive Today in Peru and Spain
Emigration is a word that is understood and applied to people who must leave their land of origin when it does not satisfy their economic necessities at a certain moment in its history. Ethnicity is part of our identity, making us feel part of a certain ethnic group and also excluding us from others as a result of the connection. The perception of ethnicity and the conduct associated with it alters its force within the diverse ethnic groups and countries, and throughout time like a variable historical product.

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Carlos Junquera Rubio

Emigration is a word that is understood and applied to people who must leave their land of origin when it does not satisfy their economic necessities at a certain moment in its history. Ethnicity is part of our identity, making us feel part of a certain ethnic group and also excluding us from others as a result of the connection. The perception of ethnicity and the conduct associated with it alters its force within the diverse ethnic groups and countries, and throughout time like a variable historical product.

"Subcultures begin and are developed depending on ethnicity, class, region and religion, and sometimes, language" (Junquera Rubio, 1996, pp. 197-

227). However, this is not always the case; for example, the Alsatians are and feel French, but their maternal language is German. They have never wished to be German and when they were forced to, they returned to France as soon as they could. This generates a remarkable neocultural novelty (Junquera Rubio, 1996, pp. 221-222; 1999, pp. 85-107).

The individuals that form social groups have ties with more than one identity; for example, a Cuzqueño is also Peruvian. The Arequipeños, Piuranos, Lambayecanos, Loretanos, and others, maintain remarkable differences. A Piurano feels far from those of Cuzco, just like any individual from the mountains distrusts those of other regions, or the Mestizos of the forest which try to maintain their distance.

Not all agree on the experience of certain religious celebrations. People's faith is in accordance to their neighborhoods, family, ethnic group, country, etc. In complex societies, like the European, people buy and sell their social identities constantly. We see this when immigrants wish to manage papers in order to legalize their situation. Likewise, anyone of us is disposed to acquire any perspective in order to fit the position in the society into which we try to locate ourselves.

Peruvian emigrants in Madrid have increased remarkably in the last years. In April of 2005 there were more than 84,000 distributed throughout Spain, according to provisional data spread by the National Institute of Statistics (INE). This number represents 2.29% of the total of resident foreigners, and must be valued considering that the total of foreigners stands around 3.69 million people. According to the INE, the foreign population represents 8.4% of Spain's total population. A good part of these citizens are found in Barcelona and Madrid. This number does not include those who have obtained the Spanish nationality yet still feel Peruvian at heart and live their traditions here. Peruvian identity in Madrid is maintained in the following celebrations: (a) the Celebration of the Inti Raymi, (b) the Lord of Miracles and (c) the Cross of the Chalpón or Motupe.

The Celebration of Inti Raymi in Spain

On July 5, 2004 in Madrid, in the Plaza Mayor, more than 2,000 people attended this ceremony. The event was organized by the embassy of Peru in Spain, which began at 6:30 in the evening with the presence of Ambassador Fernando Olivera. The social context of the event had several motives which we are going to review.

The Ceremony in Cuzco

Inti Raymi is the most important commemoration of the Cuzqueño world and is celebrated on June 24. It is the celebration of the Sun, the most important divinity in Quechua culture. The event take place in the esplanade of the fortress of Sacsayhuamán, located about two kilometers from downtown Cuzco, capital of the Empire of the Incas and where the Koricancha is located. The ceremony represents the gratefulness of the Incas to the Sun for all the gifts granted. It is staged with parsimony and great pomp, with the intention to show thankfulness to divinity throughout the ritual. The actor who plays the Inca Emperor is transported on foot from the Koricancha, or Temple of the Sun, to the Huacaypata, or main plaza of the city, where he asks the authorities to make a better government. An entourage then begins their long trek to the fortress of Sacsayhuamán, where two llamas, a white and a black one, are sacrificed. The organs of both are given to two priests who use them to make the prediction of what is going to occur the next year. These predictions are studied and interpreted by the main priest or Villac Umo, who notifies the Inca. Finally, during sunset, the Inca orders retirement and begins a hubbub that will last days.

The Event in Spain

The ceremony that occurs in the Plaza Mayor of Madrid somewhat resembles the one in Cuzco. In order to stage the event, they invited the Peruvian actor Christian Esquivel, who represented the role of the Inca. Erika Quintana played the role of the *Colla*, wife of the Inca. The actor Julio Montesinos represented the Main priest. They walked by the Madrilenian plaza with a group of about 200 Peruvians dressed in typical attire. Here, as much as in Cuzco or any other Peruvian region, the goal was to bring everyone together, and to remember their place of origin and

identity. Without a doubt, this representation is not the original one, but it is very similar. In this occasion, the first time it was done outside of Cuzco, the Peruvian Embassy in Spain facilitated the presence of native folkloric sets like Llaqta Perú, Integración Andina, Tradiciones Peruanas, Hatari Perú, Tinkuy, Campesinos del Cuzco, Mensajeros del Perú and the Andean singers Lucy Vega, Seina Velasquez and Ana Berta. Huaynos of the Andean mountain range were interpreted. However, the fact that the celebration is not sponsored by any registered association causes doubt as to its authenticity. The reason being is that few Cuzqueños emigrate. Although the Peruvian presence in Spain is numerous, most are originally from the Pacific coast or the forest or mountains. This celebration is specific to Cuzco.

The Lord of Miracles

This ceremony takes place in October for historical and other emotional purposes, like the commemoration of the Santo Cristo de Pachacamilla. The procession of the Lord of Miracles crosses numerous streets and is considered one of the most multitudinous in the Catholic Christian world. In Lima today—where people reside and fight to survive in unfavorable circumstances from the economic and social point of view—the citizens believe that October is the month that joins everyone under a single belief and the hope in Cristo Morado.

How did this religious trend become so popular in Lima? In the middle of the XVII century, Lima was the capital, with over 35,000 inhabitants centered mainly in an area known as Cercado. This was land limited for urbanization in those days. The city boasts remarkable institutions and natural attractions, causing many to relocate to this area. Most originally came from the Atlantic coast of Western Africa, in those days occupied by Portuguese colonizers dedicated to slave trafficking. These groups divided themselves in a caste system like the ones of the Congos, Mantengas, Bozales, Cambundas, Misangas, Mozambiques, Terranovas, Carabelíes, Lúcumos, Minas y Angolas (Bowser, 1977; Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, 1993).

The fact that they had been acculturated to the Catholic religion granted them the power to constitute themselves into legal brotherhoods that worshiped the images to which they were devoted with total freedom. During these activities they even got to sing in the language of their place of origin which they had learned in America thanks to the oral tradition passed of their ancestors. By 1650, the Black Angolans formed a brotherhood in the zone of Pachacamilla, a site that was formally occupied by Indians from Pachacamác. In this place there stands a church, the monastery of the Nazarenes and the premises of the Brotherhood of the Lord of Miracles. They lived in a condition of absolute poverty.

The seat of the brotherhood was a building constructed with walls of adobe and on one of them an Angolan painted the image of the Lord of Miracles. On November 13, 1655, around 12:45 pm, there was an intense earthquake in Lima which tore down houses and churches, leaving a death trail. Peculiarly, the wall with the painting remained intact and did not undergo any damage. This was considered miraculous for years thereafter. When no Angolans were left in the zone, a neighbor of the nearby parish of San Sebastián, Antonio Leon, began to venerate it and to clean up the place. The story goes that that parishioner previously suffered from an incurable disease, from which he immediately recovered. Afterwards, other citizens followed the advice and began the devotion to the Cristo Morado, Lord of Miracles, Cristo de Pachamamilla, etc; there being many names He is known by.

The number of people of color began to increase amongst the followers, who conducted the meetings Friday nights. They lit wax candles and perfumed the place with sahumerio. Other groups soon began this devotion as well. Without trying to discredit the history of this Christ, it is important to mention that Madrid and other places in Spain have associations and meeting places where the Peruvian emigrants go. This demonstrates that they come from the coast, which is where this tradition has had more impact. This phenomenon in Spain has begun a spontaneous fashion.

Remarkably, of all the traditions lived by the Peruvian emigrants in Spain, this has the most followers. It is possible that the Black origins as well as the racial mix in the followers have helped to increase the number of

supporters. These criteria translate two realities: (a) the region of origin and (b) the belief brought from Peru that this Christ has been able to solve their difficulties. These followers indicate that they associate with other emigrants in order to continue living what they learned and lived in their land.

The Cross of Chalpón or Motupe

In the village of Motupe, about 78 km of Chiclayo, capital of the Department of Lambayeque, and almost 900 km from Lima, the Cross of the Chalpón is celebrated. It is a light log without the Christ that usually accompanies it. There are numerous places in the Andean mountain in which only the Cross is venerated. Every August, it descends from a cavern located at the summit of the mountain where it was found by Rudesindo Ramirez and José Mercedes Anteparra in 1868 (Junquera Rubio, 1999, pp. 169-179).

This devotion, in Spain and Madrid of course, has followers coming from the Peruvian North coast: Trujillanos, Lambayecanos, Piuranos and Tumbesinos mainly, just as from other distant regions, coastal as well. When asking the emigrants the purpose of their belief in a distant land and the reason for their commemoration, the following answers were obtained; for one man of Chiclayo, the Cross of the Chalpón has "granted him many favors since he has been in Spain", but most remarkably he has been able to obtain documentation when it seemed impossible; a woman Mochumí, a village south of Motupe, says that the Cross of Motupe managed to soften the heart of the employer and now enjoys all the benefits like any other Spanish worker.

Native Festivities and Identity in the Exterior

In emigration movements there arise some aspects in which religious experience has been carried on for a long time. Evidently, the religious criteria involve other social aspects. Doubtlessly, others involve Latin Americans and not only Peruvians. These identities are not exclusive, nor demand either that the original idea is rejected or relegated. The processes of resetting the identity that is developed abroad and between emigrants

indicate a narrow bond between the ethnic agents and the religious people, because the religious phenomenology constantly renews the culture and the ethnic identity.

If counted with enough support, there would be a surge for what we can consider native churches (those that are developed at the margin of the Church or that is only followed when needed), which is a clear and more integral example of the constant modification of identities. Also, they inspire an energetic interrelation between the religious identity, arisen from the millenarian belief and the messianic practice, as well as from the revitalization of the ethnic identity.

On the other hand are the social and religious movements that group individuals of diverse cultural connections, understanding the individuals of urban or rural cultures just like marginalized natives or those not familiar with the communitarian characteristics. They adapt their ideology from a singular mixture of traditions and experiences that come from different cultures and subcultures.

What unites the emigrants, as faithful to a belief, is mainly the devotion to that new culture that is formed with a mix of the old and the new movements. In these cases, the emergent identities are fundamentally religious and are elaborated from the new beliefs and ritual practices. They usually repudiate other forms of identification because they grant another form of being in the universe of believers. It should not be forgotten that religious experiences are the most important at the time of valuing personal identity.

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Carlos Junquera Rubio is a professor of Ethnology at the University of Complutense, Madrid, Spain.

Non-communitarian Immigrant Women in the Work Market in Spain
What are the guidelines of labor insertion in Spain of thousands of women immigrants of Latin American origin, coming from Asia, Africa, or Eastern Europe? In fact, according to authors like Hondagneu Sotelo (1994), the demand for the immigrant work force in the post-industrial economies differs with regards to gender, which results in an increase of hardworking immigrants' drafted to be employees in activities linked to social reproduction – principally as domestic service, not forgetting prostitution – in all the post-industrial societies. It refers to tasks that have always have been considered to be for women, but that today have become part of the global market, in the context of the "internationalization of reproduction."

Non-communitarian Immigrant Women in the Work Market in Spain

Carlota Solé & Sònia Parella

The causes and effects of the female migrant movements have their own entity, when a woman plays a social and economic role different to that of males, in the productive sphere as in the reproductive sphere, in the society of origin as much as in their destination. A reading of migrations regarding gender, allows concluding that female migration can no longer assume the fact that women follow their husbands in a passive form; rather, women often emigrate alone, for economic reasons, and follow different migratory patterns than men (Bus Ioé 1998; Gregory 1999). It is in this scenario that we must locate the presence of female migration in Spain. An identifying element of the new European migratory models is the increase of the female independent emigration, on the margin of the context of familiar regrouping (Ribas 2004). Data demonstrates that there exists a great diversification in the female migratory experiences, so that many of these women arrive to Europe and Spain becoming pioneers of the migratory process, attracted by the demand of domestic employees or, to a lesser extent, of sexual services (Morokvasic 1993). In some immigrant groups – mainly those coming from Latin American countries – the migratory patterns are mainly female and are who impel the migratory chains (Ribas 2004).

The globalization as a macro-process is the frame that allows understanding the conformation of women immigrants who are directed towards postindustrial economies to be used in the domestic service. Global Capitalism and patriarchate operate as macro-structural forces that, together, determine the immigrant workers' positions (Salazar 2001:62). The "division of the reproductive work" under racial or ethnic lines, operates in a context of incorporation of women from peripheral countries to the global economy. It is a distinguishing form of international division of work, fruit of the interaction between global Capitalism and the systems of gender inequality, that takes place in societies of origin as in those of destination, and that establishes a connection among women through interdependence relations. The international transference of reproductive work has to do with social, political, and economic relations among women in a market of global work. This division is based in a structural relation of inequality on the basis of social class, gender, ethnic group, and citizenship, that relegates them to those occupations more emblematic of discrimination of gender, in particular, to all those tasks linked to social reproduction.

The objective of this chapter is to offer a panoramic view of the non-communitarian immigrant woman in Spain, through an approach to the different profiles and migratory projects and from its labor trajectories in the work market of the Spanish society. For the analysis, different statistical sources have been used, as well as a compilation of the main results of the most outstanding investigations made in Spain on this matter, and of the studies on immigrant women and the work market in which the authors have participated throughout their investigating trajectory.

The Feminization of the Migratory Flows Towards Spain in the Context of "Internationalization of Reproduction"

The triple discrimination of female immigrant workers – because of their social class, gender, and ethnic group – relegates them to a very concrete labor niche – that is to say, domestic service and prostitution – which is translated to precarious and maximumly marginal labor participation (Morokvasic 1984). In all the post-industrial societies there is a remarkable increase in the demand of remunerated works dedicated to the tasks of social reproduction. Although some countries have developed regulated programs by the government, that have institutionalized the recruitment of migrant domestic employees, others – as is the case of South Europe or the United States – follow less formalized guidelines at the time of hiring and recruiting. The effects are similar in both cases: the incorporation of female immigrants as domestic employees, coming from the poorest countries, than often must separate from their families and emigrate alone to be able "to fulfill" their functions in the countries that demand them (Hondagneu-Sotelo, Avila 1997).

Although the migratory policies are more restrictive every time, and the entrance of legal migration towards the European countries has been prevented, the arrival of female immigrants to work in domestic services grows exponentially, as a result of the alarming aging of the population – mainly in European countries and especially those of the south, such as Spain –, the change in family structures, the transformation of the social and economic roll of woman, as well as the emergency of new ways of life in which the time for leisure and for oneself are valued more every time.

The female immigrant is perceived as a suitable work force for domestic services, since it is not socially valued, labeled as "dirty" and barely qualified, assumed as something inherent of the feminine condition and fulfilled from the informal economy. Consequently, in the era of globalization, female international migration reveals an emergent "internationalization of reproductive work"; result of an increasing demand of feminine work force of other countries to take care of a series of tasks, which until now carried out by native women in the home, in an invisible form and without perceiving remunerations in return. All is translated in a "racialización" of the remunerated domestic work, whereas they are women of other countries, without citizenship, that take the relief native women of those tasks (Anderson 2000).

In the southern European countries, the internal domestic service constitutes a modality that expands in a greater quantity than other European countries, in which the State plays a more active role in the provision and financing of services for the families. In northern Europe, the intern employees of a home are few, and the domestic service paid per hour predominates; reason why it is common to higher a worker 4 hours once or twice a week, or 8 hours daily Monday through Friday (Ramirez 1997; Colectivo Ioé 2001a). In this sense, it must be considered that the internal domestic demand on watch is solely being satisfied at the present time through immigrant women, not only because of wages, but because it is a modality that prevents the workers to return home daily. The native women, including the domestic employees, no longer are arranged to work under these conditions and completely elude this modality of domestic service, in spite of the strong demand.

The internal domestic service, used especially to take care of an elder in a dependency situation, is preferred by the families before other solutions, in accordance with cultural and economic reasons. The solution of the internal domestic employee is similar to the "ideal" of a caring family model, in which an informal nursemaid – generally a daughter or daughter-in-law – daily takes care of the necessities of the dependent elder person in a non-remunerated form. But opting on an internal domestic service not solely responds to a cultural "fit" strategy. At the present time, counting with remunerated domestic personnel has stopped being a practice liked to luxury and exclusive to groups with greater spending power, extending also to segments of middle-class population. It must be considered that considerable parts of their plaintiffs, elderly who live alone and who receive a pension, lack sufficient resources to pay for the supply of private services (a geriatric residence, for example). The insolvency of

the demand, absence of a public provision of services and resources to take care of these dependency situations, convert the resource of an informal economy and an immigrant worker, willing to work for an inferior wage, in the less expensive option and, in many cases, the only feasible strategy.

Until a real alternative is found to the patriarchal organization of social reproduction and in absence of a supply of daily services directed to the set of citizens in the case of Spain, we must be asked, who takes care of the tasks relating to social reproduction – taking care of elders, children, etc. – while women have a professional life, work 8 hours daily or more outside the home, and lack time?; how many "other" women must work under the most precarious conditions to be able to maintain our social and economic system and to face denominated *care crisis*?

But the "internationalization of reproduction" is not the only factor that helps to understand the feminization of the flows. We must also resort to another explanatory factor: the normalization of the phenomenon of the migration in Spain. In Spain, a society that has been characterized to carry out migratory flows towards central and western Europe during the postwar period, is not until the mid-80's that international immigration began to appear as a "social fact." From this date, the progressive arrival of workers from Africa, Latin America, Asia, and East Europe have been assisted, due to, among other factors, the existence of an effect from the logic of the reconstruction of the work market that takes place in Spain during those years (Cachón 1997). As it has happened in all the societies that have been receiving migratory flows along of their history, as the new residents are settling more or less permanently, the arrival of women through the processes of familiar regrouping has increased. This has been the pattern mainly followed by the female migrations coming from Africa, Asia, or countries like Pakistan.

The Female Immigrant in Spain: Some Statistical Data

The most suitable source, in Spain, for the quantification of the number of foreigners is the Municipal Register of Inhabitants elaborated by the INE with annual regularity since 1998. The foreign population in Spain has reached, according to the data of the Municipal Register to January 1, 2004, 3,034,326 people (7.02% of the total registered population). On the basis the data of the Statistical Yearbook of Extranjería 2003, gathered by the Ministry of Interior, is a total of 1,647,011 foreign residents in Spain with card or permission of residence since December 31, 2003, 65.3% of the total pertaining to the General Regime. This number conveys an increase of 24.4% with respect to December of the previous year, and a total of 39 foreigners with card or authorization of residence for each 1000 inhabitants. Of the comparison of data of the Register with those of the Ministry of Interior, the foreigners of the Register surpass the legal residents in more than 1,300,000 people, which allow approximating the important volume the irregular population situation has in Spain.

Although the percentage of women for the set of Spain (almost 45% of the total foreigners with card or authorization of residence) puts in evidence the feminization of the flows, the proportion of women varies according to the origin continent; so that while the countries pertaining to the European Economic Space present a practically egalitarian distribution of sexes (47.7% of women) – according to data of the Statistical Yearbook of Extranjería-, Africa and Asia has a predominate profile of masculine immigration (32.5% and 40.5% of women, respectively); on the contrary, in the Latin American countries, with a 54.5% of women, a noticeable feminization of the migratory flows occurs.

The distribution of non-communitarian foreign women residents in Spain with a card or authorization of residence, according to main nationalities, shows the predominance of the group of Moroccan women in absolute terms (with a 15.4% of total women to 31,12,2003, are the most numerous group of women), even though it is not a migratory flow specially feminized (34.14%). Within the group of Latin American women, Ecuador, Colombia, and Peru stand out - who occupy second, third, and fourth position, by that order, as the main countries of origin. In this sense, is worthy of mentioning the spectacular numerical ascent of Colombian and Ecuadorian women, who are no longer seen as poorly statistically significant and now occupy the first positions in a very brief period of time, since the late 90's.

With respect to the distribution of nationality groups according to sex, the country with the greatest percentage of women is the Dominican Republic (64.54%), followed by the Philippines (58.94%), Colombia (58.84%), Cuba (57.53%), and Peru (54.29%). Rumania and Morocco, however, are among the groups where there is a noticeable predominance of men, with 34% and a 38% of women, respectively.

The Migratory Projects of Non-Communitarian Women Immigrants in Spain

At the time of approaching what are the migratory projects of female immigrants, it must be divided of the heterogeneity of origins and circumstances that sublie after the label "woman immigrant." Even so, according to the investigations of the Ioé Group (1998), we can extract a series of more or less representative profiles, that clearly break the most recurrent stereotypes on feminine migration and that present it as a homogenous group, passive, and subedited to the migratory project of a man.

The economic causes seem to prevail as the main detonators, within a family strategy that peruses to obtain or to complete their income. The lack of job opportunities in the origin countries is the general tonic. It is usually young women, with family loads, many with average or superior studies, and with elevated occupation rates in the receiving society, clearly superior to those of native women. In these cases, it is usually themselves that initiate the migratory project, leaving their family in the country of origin and becoming the main "economic supporter," whether they are single mothers with a couple or, mainly, women with children to care for. The latter ones constitute families lead by women, and are maximally exposed to situations of vulnerability in their countries of origin from the economic and social point of view. Even though homes maintained by women exist in all societies, it is observed in Latin American countries, according to Buvinic (1990), an important increase of incidence in the latter years, as a result of tendencies related to the weakening of the familiar bows (that is to say, the men escape from the responsibility of caring for their families), that have to do with the dismantling of the systems of patriarchal familiar government and the diminution of the real income of homes; not forgetting less conjuncture factors, of cultural character, such as the reproductive and familiar strategies of men (practices of gender), that decisively affect the well-being of families and the migratory projects of women.

The main reason of the displacement of these mothers is the necessity to work and make money to cover the family economic necessities. Their objective is to send money to their country of origin to pay debts, to save, to construct, to finish or to enlarge their house, to establish business upon their return, to pay for their children's studies, etc. It is stated that the arrival of feminine migration, autonomous and independent, results, mainly, of a familiar strategy oriented to obtaining income for the family. Some women arrive to Spain with the intention of remaining for a short period of time, until they gather the sufficient amount of money to obtain their objectives and return; but others settle in a more or less definitive and long term way to reunite with their husbands and all or some of their children (Oso 1998; Escrivá 2000).

But the international migrations of single women do not constitute a new phenomenon; as is indicated by Elia Ramirez (1997), a few decades ago that in Latin America, for example, the internal migrations (field-city) carried out by women are part of a strategy that have been followed by many rural families to face poverty and obtain a wage-earning job. Many of the Latin American immigrants of rural origin that arrive in Spain respond to this profile. Often they are women who, previously, had left the field to work in the domestic service in bigger cities of their respective countries of origin. The drastic economic and social changes that have taken place in many of these countries, and the increasing poverty in bigger cities pushes towards international migrations.

But a considerable part of the female migration comes from the Latin American middle-class, important part of this migratory process on an international scale. During the 80's and 90's, the neo-liberal economic measures have impoverished these segments of population. Before the deficiency of economic opportunities and a more uncertain future, grows the migratory flows towards European countries and North America (Escrivá 2000). They are not families of the lowest layers of society, but middle-class families that, as a result of the successive economic and political crises that strike many of these countries, they lose their job (public administration, technical and professional positions in companies) or the buying capacity (faced with the devaluation of currency, for example, many pensioners have seen their savings and pensions disappear) and they state that if they want to maintain their power or standard of life to provide for their children's formation and opportunities, they have no other alternative but to sacrifice themselves and emigrate. The most impoverished fraction of the middle-class clearly feels threatened and sees emigration as the only exit. The increase of migratory flows coming from Argentina in the last years responds to this profile.

Sometimes, the option of emigrating for female immigrants can respond to a certain dissatisfaction of the social tensions attributed to their gender, added to the economic pressures. They are women who look for a well-being and a change in lifestyle in Europe, which goes beyond the strictly economic motivation (Ramirez 1997). Many of

the women who fit within this migratory project are unmarried, young, without family responsibilities, and of urban origin, although it is also frequent to find "unmarried mothers" who feel socially rejected in their countries of origin and decide to emigrate.

Escaping the traditional ideology of genders, that constructs the feminine identity from maternity and the roll of caretaker in the domestic sphere, also appears in many migratory projects of domestic employees of Philippine origin, as shown by the works of Salazar (2001). The massive growth of labor participation of women in the Philippines has not had positive consequences for women: not only do they receive low wages in a work market segmented by sex; they must also "add loads" and continue taking care – without the aid of their spouses – of family responsibilities. Emigration is considered as one double "route" of liberation that constitutes, in addition to an economic strategy, a strategy of liberation of so many duties and obligations of the family and the patriarchate. In Morocco, however, the cultural guidelines stigmatize the women's "abandonment" of the home, reason why the leadership of the transnational home is basically exerted by men. However, after situations of divorce, separation, or widowhood, many Moroccan women also see themselves forced to leave the country in which they are socially stigmatized by ethical-religious reasons; reason why they are overrepresented in the statistics.

Since the 80's, a new tendency in the flows of Moroccan women is assisted, with the arrival of young, often unmarried women and with university studies, that carry out independent migratory projects, with the purpose of finding a job and of improving their conditions of life (Belarbi 1999; Ribas 2004). They often are women who in emigration, see an opportunity to alleviate the traditional forms of social control and that don't want to reproduce the models of life of the women of their surroundings, even when knowing they are probably going to experience a descendent social mobility, with circumscribed labor opportunities to the domestic service. Women are who face difficult situations here, derived from the legal and social exclusion that implies being an immigrant, woman and, in addition, Muslim. The vision of the domestic service as an impediment to their promotion is the speech that sustains many of these immigrated women of Maghribian origin. The ambitions and aspirations emigration symbolizes for them who are alone and truncated in Spain, usually generate a noticeable feeling of frustration (Sole 1994).

Other women have emigrated not by their own will, but to flee from situations of violence, drug trafficking, or violation of human rights. An example is the case of a part of the native female population movements of Colombia (Young 1999). Many women who actively participated or through their companions in the social movements and left-wing political organizations during last the two decades, had to leave the country because they or their families were threatened to death. Although during the 80's, many of these women acquired the legal status of refugees in Spain, the present cut of the figure of asylum and refuge conveys that, at the moment, they arrive to the country as immigrants, or domestic students, tourists, or employees.

Although from all that is commented above, the figure of the female immigrant who arrives in Spain through family regrouping is not the most representative, if it corresponds with the practices of some groups in particular. To follow the husband in his migratory project is habitual among Moroccan and African women of rural origin, many of them without studies and labor experience in the origin country, or among African or Pakistani women. These groups present very inferior levels of occupation to those of the rest of the female immigrants (CCOO – CERES 2004). During the 80's and 70's, many Moroccan women have arrived to Spain through the family regrouping process, as a second phase of the independent masculine emigration. Often, this project tries to reproduce the model of existing family organization in the society of origin – control of the man over the migratory project and the right to remunerated work of the woman, circumscribed to the domestic scope – which enormously isolates these women and makes their integration difficult. It is not possible to continue reproducing the same functions they had in their country, since they are out of context in the receiving society, and are strictly reduced to their husband and children. In addition, these women often lose the networks of feminine support that wrapped them in the origin country (Ribas 2004).

In spite of it, in some occasions, the lack of income forces the husband to vary his attitudes and allow his wife to work, which confers greater doses of economic, linguistic, and social autonomy, as well as of self-esteem and security in themselves, considering the difficulties and the reduced range of labor opportunities to which they have access. The African woman of rural origin doubly participates in the construction of inequalities and social exclusion. Added to that are the economic and legal dependency of their husband, in many cases, their illiteracy, linguistic limitations, as well as the lack of abilities and skills to accede to the labor world, the courses of occupational formation or to organize the conciliation between the family and labor life (some of them have many

children here) (Exposito 2004). The external domestic service constitutes its only labor opportunity, and the only job that allows them to take care of the house and the children. The access to the domestic service is not easy to them. The lack of contacts in the receiving society is added to the discrimination on behalf of the homes, which often see an impediment at the time of hiring a Muslim woman, for their religion and language, especially when it is about caretaking tasks.

For the case of the sub-Sahara African women, the flows that arrive in Spain since the 80's – Senegal, Gambia, and Equatorial Guinea as main origins – have the fact that the majority has come with their husbands as a common factor. The family reunification consists in that the man, after about two years of emigrating, returns to his country and marries, or either was already married when emigrating and decides to bring his wife to Spain. Many of who are married do not work outside the home. Those that do are used as domestic workers, or in bars, hairdressing salons, or manage business, self or co-owned. Many married women, who are statistically inactive, dedicate themselves to sell African products in their homes, or carry out hairdressing salon services at home. Just like with Moroccan families, the necessity of money is what often impels the domestic group to decide on the strategy of women working outside the home and contribute complementary income (Sole 1994).

The Labor Incorporation of the Female Immigrant in Spain: The Domestic Service as a "Norm"

The interaction of the social class, gender, and ethnic group, along with the concept "triple discrimination," allows understanding the different modalities from labor insertion of women of immigrant origin. The labor incorporation of the female immigrant is opposed, on one hand, in accordance to their feminine condition, to that of men – whether they are native or immigrants –; on the other hand, in accordance to their condition of immigrants, their labor opportunities are not the same as that of native women. That way, if the perspective of gender is added to the phenomenon of stratification of the work market from the ethnic group, it is stated that, although the set of immigrant population is led to occupations of minor social status, smaller remuneration, and worse labor conditions, are the female immigrants of non-communitarian origin that occupy the last roster: the domestic service – with exception of Chinese women, who mainly are used in catering, and commerce. The female immigrants constitute a species of "sub-segment" of the market of feminine work, more restricted than that of men, relegated to the most emblematic tasks of discrimination for gender reasons.

For a start, we must clearly know that the labor statistics do not suitably reflect the presence of foreign workers in the work market (Colectivo Ioé 2001b). The labor increase of foreigners to the Social Security do not include those who work in irregular situation, or the immigrant workers who have stopped being legally foreign when obtaining the Spanish nationality. On the other hand, the operation of the data of the *2001 Census of population and houses* not only provides information on the type of labor activity that evolves, but in addition, it allows to approach an important proportion of the people in irregular situation, although the data is old – was made during the first semester of 2001 – for a so dynamic and changing phenomenon as migrations are. The Survey of Active Population (EPA), with quarterly appearance, is another statistical instrument to analyze the composition and the dynamics of the work market in Spain. To what concerns to foreign population, its main handicap is that it quantitatively underestimates the foreign people, whether they are in a regular or irregular situation. Throughout this section, we will be centered in the first two sources, *Statistic of foreign workers affiliated with the Social Security* and *2001 Census of population and houses*, although only percentage will be used and not non-absolute numbers, with the purpose of giving a greater reliability to the presented data.

The distribution of labor increase of the set of foreign workers – communitarian workers included –, gathered in Table 1, shows the labor segregation of the foreign woman; it is to say, the labor concentration in certain activities that have to do with reproductive work is noticeable. Note that, by activity sector, the services sector agglutinates 85.1% of the affiliates, as opposed to only 47.1% in the case of men. Also, by main branches of activity, three activities – domestic service, catering, and retail trade concentrate almost 50% of the total affiliated foreigners and only 19.5% of the homologous males. One of the reasons for which the data is not presented in absolute terms, is because these underestimate the important volume of women immigrants who are developing activities tied to the social reproduction from the submerged economy and in an irregular situation.

Table 1. Affiliated Foreign Workers in Labor Increase, According to Sex, by Branch of Activity, Up to 14-01-2004.

Percentage Distributions	Both Sexes (1)	Men	Women
MAIN BRANCHES			
Agriculture, cattle ranch, hunt, and forestry	13.9	17.3	7.9
Food, drink, and tobacco industry	1.9	2.0	1.6
Textile industry and tailoring	0.9	0.7	1.2
Construction	15.8	23.8	1.7
Wholesale trade. Interm. of commerce	4.8	4.9	4.7
Retail trade. Domestic Repairs	7.6	6.8	9.1
Catering	14.5	11.5	19.9
Activity annexed to transports. Communications	1.6	1.5	1.7
Real estate. Rent of personal property	2.3	2.2	2.6
Other enterprise activities	9.1	7.2	12.4
Education	2.3	1.6	3.5
Activ. Toilets and veterin. Social Services	1.8	0.9	3.4
Associative, recreational, and cultural activities	2.1	1.9	2.5
Activ. of diverse personal services	1.3	1.0	2.0
Homes that use domestic personnel	8.1	1.2	20.2
No consta	0.1	0.1	0.1

Table 1. Affiliated Foreign Workers in Labor Increase, According to Sex, by Branch of Activity, Up to 14-01-2004.

(1) includes those not classifiable by sex.

Source: Social ministry of Work and Subjects. *Yearbook of Labor Statistics, Data bank of Labor Series (BDSL)* [www.mtas.es/estadisticas]

We must have present that this data includes all foreign women, including those coming from countries of the UE, reason why the labor segregation would be even more marked if we were centered exclusively in non-communitarian foreign workers. The data on foreign workers in labor increase in the Social Security up to 14-01-2004 according to nationalities show how the labor segregation of the female immigrant is more or less accused according to their origin country. 63% of the affiliated Philippine women work in homes, having also emphasized the presence in this regime of Social Security, the Dominican affiliated ones (40.2%), Peruvian (37.3%), Ecuadorian (29.9%), Colombians (27.9%) and, in smaller proportion, the Moroccans (22.1%). The women coming from East Europe follow the same tonic, with elevated percentages in this sector, mainly among women coming from the Ukraine (28.1%) (CCOO-CERES 2004:56).

Of the total of 348,616 foreign women affiliated with the Social Security up to 14-01-2004, 27.9% and 15.5% are concentrated, respectively, in the Independent Community of Madrid and the province of Barcelona, main urban

centers of the country and, therefore, outstanding plaintiffs of domestic employees: 46.2% of the total foreigners affiliated with the Special Regime of Home Employees for the set of Spain are in Madrid and 15.4% in the Barcelona province. Also, the feminization of the domestic service is shown when stating that 91.7% of the total foreigners affiliated with this Regime of the Social Security are women. The predominant profile of domestic employee according to nationality depends on the independent community. Thus, while in Madrid it is more frequent to find Dominicans and Eastern Europeans, and Latin American women in Catalunya, the presences of Moroccan women in this activity has been, until now, proportionally greater in Andalusia (Gualda, Ruiz 2004).

Analogous conclusions are made from the data of the *2001 Census of population and houses*. If we focus on the main non-communitarian nationalities of the occupied women registered in the Census, it is observed that they mainly work as "nonqualified workers" with a percentage close to 50% (except for women of Argentine and Chinese nationality, which nearly constitute 24%) in this category. This data contrasts with the percentage distribution of the women of Spanish nationality, just by 13.5% of the occupied women carrying out nonqualified activities. Also, Table 2 allows us to deepen in the concrete activity that these workers carry out and shows its main occupations of the National Classification of Occupations (CNO-94) with two digits. The results, once again, are flagrant: the domestic and janitor services (digits 91) is its labor niche for excellence, mainly for Latin American women (except for the Argentineans), with a percentage close to 50%. The workers of the services of restoration (digits 50) are located in second position, although with a large distance. Both occupations – domestic service and catering – only constitute 14.1% of the women of Spanish nationality.

Table 2. Occupied Women, 16 Years Old or More, by Main Non-Communitarian Nationalities According to Occupation (To 2 Digits of the CON-94).

	Spain	Romania	Morocco	D. R.	Argentina	Colombia	Ecuador	
34 -	7.0	1.6	1.2	1.1	3.6	1.7	1.5	
44 -	5.1	0.8	1.1	0.9	1.9	1.2	1.0	
45 -	1.7	0.8	0.8	0.9	2.1	1.2	1.0	
46 -	1.6	0.9	1.0	0.8	1.2	1.1	1.1	
50 -	4.9	11.8	12.7	14.3	13.8	13.0	8.7	
51 -	6.9	3.7	3.9	5.1	5.5	6.0	5.2	
53 -	10.4	5.1	6.8	5.9	8.9	6.5	5.4	
79 -	1.3	1.3	1.6	0.6	0.8	1.2	1.1	
83 -	3.8	4.9	5.6	2.0	1.7	2.3	2.4	
91 -	9.2	39.3	32.8	50.4	20.8	44.0	49.3	
94 -	1.7	7.2	8.2	0.6	1.2	1.7	6.9	
Rest of occupations	46.4	22.6	242	17.3	38.5	20.1	16.4	
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	

34 - Professionals of support to the administrative management

44 - Administrative assistants with tasks of non-classified attention to the public

45 - Employees of direct treatment with the public in travel agencies, receptionists, and operators

46 - Tellers, box offices, and other employees assimilated in direct deal with the public

50 - Workers of the services of restoration

51 - Workers of Personal Services

53 - Assimilated employees of commerce

79 - Workers who deal with wood, cabinetmakers, textile, skin tailoring, leather, footwear, and assimilated industry

83 - Operators of fixed machines

91 - Domestic employees and other janitorial personnel

94 - Farming and fishing laborers

Source: Own elaboration from: INE. *2001 Census of population and houses. Definitive results*. [www.ine.es]

Logically, the "acceptance level" of a job on behalf of immigrant women in the Spanish society, is inferior to that of the origin societies, especially when dealing with qualified women and/or of middle-class (Villa 1990). The domestic service deeply constitutes a devalued occupation in imaginary the social one of these countries, many times not considered use. Paradoxically, a considerable part of immigrant women who have not had previous labor experience in their countries of origin (housewives or students) and only a very small proportion was dedicated to the domestic service, an extremely discredited activity (Anguiano 2001). For all this, it is habitual, that when working in the domestic service in the Spanish society, creates, in some cases, serious problems of self-esteem and inconsistency of status. This is thus especially for the immigrant women who, according to the Colectivo Ioé (1998) present "experiences of descendent mobility." It is about women who change their qualified tasks in their countries of origin – teachers, nurses, etc. –, to be shut in and isolated in the deprived scope of the home in which they are hired – especially in the case of intern employees, and to "to be ordered by everyone."

The temporary or permanent character of immigration, as already indicated by Piore (1979), is an essential variable at the time of understanding why certain labor conditions are accepted and tolerated. In this sense, we must distinguish between the women whose main objective is the survival of the family group in the origin country, with a migratory project based on return, and those that try to elevate their individual/family status in the receiving society and to emulate modern ways of life. Whereas for the first, domestic service facilitates the attainment of their objectives, for the second, it is seen in a more traumatic form and permanently looks for formulas to accede another activity (Escrivá 2000).

However, in agreement with Christine Catarino and Laura Oso (2000), it must also be indicated that the domestic service is the occupation with more advantages for immigrant women, from the monetary accumulation point of view, since those who work as interns have insured the lodging and the maintenance, can maximize their savings capacity, send remittances to the family, and return to their countries of origin with a greater autonomy (own business, house purchase, etc.). That way, the over-qualification and the loss of self-esteem are compensated in terms of greater income, mainly when the idea of short term return remains, which is translated in an improvement in the woman's position in the family and community of origin, thanks to gained social prestige through the emigration. In addition to the monetary accumulation, the domestic service favors the arrival and insertion to the welcoming society of foreigners, so that the immigrant women have no problem finding a job.

The Spanish migratory policy promotes the labor concentration of immigrant women in the domestic service. The organized channels of migration anticipated by the state, respond to computable necessities to the formal work market, which excludes those activities that are mainly done by women, characterized by the regularization (domestic service) or not being considered a proper job (prostitution). In agreement with Mestre (2003), a model

that grants rights to foreigners based on the existence of a contract of work in the formal market (not of labor relation), excludes women even more. Although the policy of contingents has included the domestic service as an activity in which the situation could be regularized, the women who were already working here have benefited from the permissions. Nevertheless, this measurement in no case has served to regulate an ordered entrance. The labor situation of the immigrant woman does not allow her to benefit from immigration policies that try to organize migrations on the basis of possession of a contract of work granted prior to arrival.

The increasing presence of women in irregular situations explains that the migratory networks play a key role for women, more than men, at the hour of coming to Spain and finding a job. The networkswith feminine predominance, with base in the country of origin or of destination and integrated by conational women, facilitate information, labor contacts, and even the average materials to emigrate. Immigrant women with greater dwell time in Spain know the operations of the Spanish work market. Not to mention the employers' networks, integrated by people of the welcoming society, basically women, who recruit immigrant women as domestic employees and who favor the migration of women towards Spain. Finally, the networks that hiring families and the different immigrant communities through parishes and religious orders that also act as employing agencies (Colectivo Ioé 1998:29; Gualda, Ruiz 2004).

The construction of citizenship in labor terms is found in the base of the immigration system in Europe, and entails negative effects for women. Since the social rights in the State of the Spanish well-being are associated to occupational categories, except in the case of health and education, the participation in the formal work market constitutes one of the main routes of access to the social resources, benefits, and programs that are directed to the workers and their families. The over-representation of the immigrant woman in poorly regulated activities (domestic service, for example, is not quoted in unemployment) and in the submerged economy, has a smaller economic independence as consequence and an unequal access to other resources (Mestre 2003). It is certain that working immigrant men are also imagined in the submerged economy; but they are not located in the same type of informal economy. While men irregularly do works that can be formal (construction, agriculture, etc.); women, however, are used irregularly in unregularized works (domestic service, prostitution, etc.) (Mestre 2003). Really, not only are formal markets segmented by gender; informal markets are too.

Certainly, it is difficult to conclude which of either groups, men or women immigrants, present a situation of greater subordination or vulnerability in the work market. Nevertheless, saving the heterogeneity of situations, only by the fact that domestic service is regulated through a weak contractual relation – halfway between the relation of servitude and the formally free labor relation (Colectivo Ioé 2001b) -; of the ideological devaluation of the works made by women in general and of the domestic work in particular, under the umbrella of the patriarchal configuration of the society; of the strong incidence of the informality of the contractual relation and of the fact that it is carried out in the deprived scope of the home, are sufficient reasons to note that this activity facilitates the invisibility and the defenselessness of the group that takes care in it, so that the employer has a great margin of discretion to commit abuses. The lack of social relations of those newly arrived, especially serious in the case of the intern employees, increases the degree of defenselessness of the workers. Although the domestic-family work has risen to a wage-earning category the category in Spain, with its regulation in 1985, through the Real Decree 1424/1985 August 1, the conditions that this special regime regulates are discriminatory in relation to the rest of the activities, and situates in the lowest layers of the occupational structure, in those more emblematic activities of the discrimination because of gender (Parella 2003).

For the fact of being immigrants coming from poor countries and, in addition, women, a they are assumed to be a cultured person which opposes the traditional and underdeveloped character, deeply devalued, to that of a western woman, more modern and emancipated (Oso 1998). These stereotypes and prejudices, as part of the dominant system of beliefs, reinforces the discrimination of the immigrant woman in the work market and turns them into an "ideal" candidate to carry out the works tied to social reproduction, for being docile and for their patience, discipline, and subordination. This is how a process of progressive ethnicity of the reproductive services more socially devalued, off the hand of an "army of servants" integrated by immigrant women (Catarino, Oso 2000).

For many of the immigrant domestic employees who have displaced themselves to the western societies in search of remunerated work, making the difficult decision of separating from their children, and of becoming the main source of income to the family, responds to one objective: to obtain a better future for their families. Such option, denominated as "transnational maternity," takes place even when knowing that the price these mothers are going to pay is the "loss" of the possibility of raising their children and to provide them affection and taken care of them

daily and not from a distance (Parella 2004). For the immigrant worker, having to take care of "others" in the receiving society and to provide them well-being (care, company, satisfy their basic necessities of hygiene, feeding, etc.), is incompatible with the possibility of directly taking care of the own family, mainly when the employee works as an intern resides in the home where she works 24 hours a day, totally isolated and, often, having to provide the employer a total availability of her time.

Although the adjustments transnational maternity requires are not exclusive of domestic service, is not less true that the peculiarities of this remunerated activity (mainly the modality of "intern," one of the most demanded in Spain as it has been said previously) promote the physical separation of the mother-employee from their children (Hondagneu-Sotelo, Avila 1997). Lamentably, neither the legislation or from different institutions of the receiving society take into account the family rights of these immigrant workers who are employed in the domestic service, nor the impact of the families who, meanwhile, remain in the origin countries.

Are There Other Labor Opportunities Beyond the Domestic Service? The Labor Mobility of Immigrant Worker

Sexual work constitutes another form of the labor that exits for the immigrant woman, although there is no statistical data on this matter. The association immigrant/prostitute woman is a binomial loaded of ideological and moral stigmas (Colectivo Ioé 2001b). Prostitution, not recognized as work in Spain, condemns these women to the irregularity and prevents the regularization of a work contract. In agreement with Casal and Mestre (2002:163), "it is in this scope where the trafficking perspective of migration stands out without shades, with perverse effects on the migrants." These same authors indicate that not all prostitutes travel to Spain by means of mafia networks, nor have been forced to carry out prostitution as sexual slaves. It is more of a "voluntary" strategy for women, that makes migration and labor insertion possible, in a context of restrictive migratory policies and restriction of labor opportunities for immigrant women (Oso 2002). In spite of the impossibility of a legal entrance and the certainty to have to work in badly remunerated jobs and of little social consideration – domestic service –, sexual works can convey a route to obtain economic advantages, to be able to gain higher amounts of money to send to their families, and to reduce therefore the dwell time abroad. Often, the main form of recruitment is through other compatriots who are already working as prostitutes. The sexual commerce isn't always the first option. Often the women who choose to exert prostitution describe themselves as being tired of working in the domestic service, with long labor days and low remuneration. But not everything is as simple; prostitution is a high-risk activity in Spain, in terms of social stigmatization and impunity on behalf of those who abuse the vulnerability of these women (Casal, Mestre 2002). In the present debates on prostitution, it the proposal of recognizing it in all its forms as a legal job is gaining strength, with the aim of protecting those who dedicate themselves to it.

The possibilities of occupational mobility out of domestic service are reduced for immigrant women. As Mary Romero recognizes (2002), the domestic service, far from constituting as an instrument to obtain mobility, it is elevated into an occupational *ghetto*. Even so, a survey made by the University Institute of Studies on Migrations states a slight reduction of the participation of the immigrant women in the domestic service throughout its labor trajectory, which suggests an incipient mobility towards other jobs (Anguiano 2001). In the same line, the evolution of the percentage of immigrant women who are inserted in the domestic service throughout time, sample that the participation of foreign women in the Special Regime of Employees of Homes (REEH) is diminishing (of the total foreign women in discharge, the domestic service represents 24.5% in 2003 and 19% in 2004). Nevertheless, the diminution in the percentage of home employees is not equal for all groups. Latin American women – especially Colombian and Ecuadorian – and those coming from Eastern European countries that easily leave the domestic service, accede to other type of works. On the other hand, Peruvian and Dominican women are who more commonly remain in the domestic service (CCOO-CERES 2004).

This displacement towards other sectors depends on a great number of factors, among which the education level of the immigrant woman stands out, the migratory project, and the time of establishment in the receiving society, the family networks, the knowledge of the language, and the position in the family structure. In the case of the Spanish society, there are few job alternative routes and are concentrated in poorly qualified services: catering and commerce. For the catering sector, the tasks carried out by immigrant women are related to cleaning and the kitchen, "in the back room," and there are less that work as waitresses, unlike native workers. Although there are no connotations of abuse and servitude in the catering services like those attributed to the domestic service, according to Colectivo IOÉ (1999, 2001a, 2001b), the precarious conditions of work and supervisory abuses

predominate, just like the reproduction of the traditional feminine rolls. Even so, for the fact that it takes place in a public space, the rights of women workers are more easily defensible. Working as a clerk in some business is another more reasonable option for the immigrant woman (because of the shortage of native work force in that sector), mainly for Latin American woman, who has a good dominion of the linguistic code.

The shortage of "other" labor opportunities for immigrant women is a determinant of which many of them, among those who consider a definitive establishment in the receiving society, manifest auto-occupation as a project of half-term labor mobility, once they reunite the sufficient income to establish their own business (Sole, Parella 2005). It is more and more habitual for immigrant women to consider settling a business (hairdressing salons, cafeterias, etc.), mainly among those that count with a greater educative level, as a strategy to leave the domestic service once they have reunited a sufficient amount of savings. At the moment, only 8.8% of the total female foreigners affiliated with 14-01-2004 are in the Special Regime of Independent Workers (as opposed to 11.4% men); although it is foreseeable that this percentage will increases in the upcoming years, according to the existing barriers in labor mobility of immigrant women towards more qualified sectors. The scarce studies that have been made on the enterprising immigrant women state that the enterprise route can be elevated as an alternative of social mobility, and an exit of the classic labor sectors reserved for immigrant women, like cleaning, caring for elders and children, catering, or prostitution. Not to mention, another condition included with education is the fact that they can settle a business on their own account, and serves many women to better manage their working time, so that a greater flexibility in the labor activity allows them to take care of their families (Colectivo Ioé 2001a; Oso and Ribas 2004). Immigrant workers take advantage of informal networks as friends or relatives, at the time of settling their businesses (Colectivo Ioé 2001b).

The sector of industrial cleaning activities is another occupation to which immigrant women, who want to leave the domestic service, accede; although it is estimated that, so far, it is only around 2% of the feminine work force (Colectivo IOÉ 2001a). The reason for this is that this occupation requires the possession of a work permit, for which the policies of contingents allow the regulation of home employees, but not of cleaners. Although its main advantage is the possibility of quoting in the Social Security, the lack of stability of the sector (contracts of very short) and low wages, paid per hour, often do not compensate if the immigrant worker is trying to reunite the maximum economic benefits in the minimum possible time, to be able to return to their country of origin as soon as possible (Catarino, Oso 2000).

But the most common pattern of labor mobility tends to be found within services linked to social reproduction, throughout its different hierarchized modalities. In this sense, although many of the immigrant women initially become part of the domestic service, the possession of formation, the dwell time, the legal status, and the family situation, influence in the different labor trajectories. The first step is leaving the internal domestic service and become external or assistant employees per hour, while they manage to reunite the family. The women's education level the knowledge of the language condition the type of labor insertion, in the sense that many Latin American women with formation as nurses or teachers are preferably hired for taking care of people and not as much cleaning tasks, and with time, we also found them mainly in geriatric residences or home service companies, in which they can be quoted in the General Regime of Social Security (Parella 2003).

Finally, the results of a survey made by the Colectivo Ioé (2001a) to immigrant women, foreigners quoted in the Social Security, nationalized women, and women in irregular situations, show that, although the labor mobility out of domestic service is larger every time, its potential of auto-recruitment continues being unquestionable. Just as shown by the authors in this study, domestic employees who have never worked in another sector compose 82%, as opposed to 52% in catering services, 25% among women who work on their own, and 14% for those who work in cleaning companies. Also, it is observed that women who have previously worked in the domestic service have a special importance, which shows that this activity continues being the "front door" to the work market (Colectivo Ioé 2001a:735).

At first, we can conclude that usually there is no mobility from other sectors to the domestic service, although Gualda and Ruiz (2004) show a different guideline in the Andalusian province of Huelva: a jump from agriculture to the domestic service. Since the late 90's, with the development of intensive agriculture, there is a producing process from substitution of manual labor that begins with the displacement of the national seasonal workers by Maghribian workers, who as well, at the present time are being replaced by women coming from East Europe. In agreement with Gualda and Ruiz (2004), the agrarian industrialists see women as a more responsible, manageable, and less conflicting work force; they are less conflicting than young people and Moroccan unmarried men.

Nevertheless, due to the seasonal and difficult conditions of working in the field, it is more common for these women to look for jobs in other sectors, especially in the domestic service.

Conclusions

As a conclusion, immigrant women in Spain exemplify the present processes of feminization of the migratory flows and clarify the increasing demand of immigrant workers to carry out domestic tasks on an international scale. Their legal vulnerability and the labor situation that are occupied here, as cheap manual labor for tasks linked to social reproduction, shows the structural conditioners that are exposed and that they must kept in mind at the time of valuing the potential of integration in the Spanish society.

It is the imbrications between genders, social class, and decisive ethnicity at the time of explaining the labor insertion of immigrant woman in the receiving society, and its unequal access to the resources and opportunities, in the context of asymmetrical power relations in which women are seen as an exploited subject. That way, as women, immigrant workers are held to the logic of patriarchate in their country of origin as in the receiving society. As immigrants coming from poor countries – from a working-class – they do not only face legal barriers of a migratory policy that directly discriminates for being a non-communitarian foreigner, and indirectly as far as gender; but also to the prejudices and stereotypes of a receiving society that sets them in very concrete labor niches; that is to say, the domestic service, prostitution, and those poorly qualified services (cleaning, catering, commerce, etc.), feminized for exactly that reason. An explosive cocktail that acts in a simultaneous and non-successive form, and that locates these women in a position of "social vulnerability" in relation to the rest of the groups; that is to say, in the lowest layers of the occupational structure, in those remunerated activities that are more emblematic because of the gender discrimination – rejected by the majority of native women for those reasons – and whose demand grows incessantly. This is how we attended a process of transference of the domestic and familiar work between women on an international scale. Many middle-class native women, who have had an education and have been incorporated in the work market since the 80's, improve their labor position through "care-taking" and turning to "other" women coming from countries with less opportunities. Therefore, the internationalization of the reproductive work generates a triple system of subordination of the immigrant woman, on the basis of gender, to the ethnic group and the social class.

Really, it can be concluded that the reality of the feminine migration in Spain patents the active participation of woman in migratory processes; which radically breaks with the topic of passive female immigrant, who arrives at the receiving society following their spouses in the migratory project. Their social and economic contribution in the societies of origin as in the one of destination isn't sufficiently recognized in scientific literature or in social imaginaries. Even though they have stated their labor concentration in activities linked to social reproduction, these workers should not be considered as mere passive victims of conditioners of structural character; their enterprising character and participative tradition and of solidarity turn them into women able of controlling their destiny. In any case, the migratory phenomenon in Spain is something recent in comparison with other countries, reason why the labor trajectories in the next years should be studied, in order to state if a tendency to normality takes place (in the sense of comparison of the labor opportunities to those of the feminine native population) or, if oppositely, the discrimination situations never change.

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Carlota Solé is a professor at the University Autonoma of Barcelona, Spain.

Sonia Parella is a professor at the University Autonoma of Barcelona, Spain.

AIDS Prevention Among Latino Teens: The Role of Family Acculturation
The full version of this monograph contains a pretty exhaustive review of
the theories and research findings on HIV/AIDS prevention programs
geared both to the mainstream population and in a specific way to Latino
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Juan Luis Recio Adrados

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also deals with the related problem of Latino teen pregnancy.

I hypothesize that the acculturation process the Latino families go through
will affect their functioning and, in a specific way, the performance of their

socialization tasks. Acculturation will, however, be assessed from the assumption that it can be both differentiated and pro-active, namely embracing either external and/or internal family systems, and not only incorporating mainstream culture's values and patterns of behavior, but also fostering the values and customs of their countries of origin.

My goal is to build up a new model that focuses on the role of the Latino family while drawing on other relevant partial models so as to be able to spell out a set of testable hypotheses. This theoretical framework is intended to serve as groundwork for grant proposal writing for family-and school-based program implementation and evaluation aimed at reducing the severity of the problem. To that aim I will trace down, first, the theories underlying those preventive intervention programs that have been shown to be effective in dealing with teen's sexual risk behavior and will also assess the determinant factors of their empirical outcomes. Second, I will adopt as a ground resource that program that best embodies the core variables of our etiological model while leaving out or modifying those aspects that do not so closely fit our model. In the selection of that best fitting program, I will be guided by a set of testable hypotheses that are derived from the various comprehensive reviews Douglas Kirby (1994) has conducted on this area of concern.

An abundant bibliography on the Latino family in the U.S. has served as a support network for its members in a variety of stressful situations. In contrast with this, the Latino family among its adolescent and young members accounts for an HIV/AIDS rate of infection of at least five points (19-21%) over the national average (14%), only inferior to that of African-American adolescents and young people. This brings about the necessity to study the impact of acculturation of Latino families to the dominant Anglo-Saxon culture and the new styles of family life in the North American society in depth, since among the indicated responsible factors for this serious problem is the crisis of the traditional American nuclear family demonstrated by the increasing divorce rate.

Most of the investigation, however, has centered on the negative impact rather than on the sexual risk behavior and, in general, on the devious conduct of adolescents, which has conjugal, parental, and intergenerational

conflict on one hand, and the situations of poverty, perceived discrimination, residential segregation, and low educative level on the other hand. It is not clear why preventive processes of reinforcing the forms of family life that can be translated into strategies of preventive and educative intervention are not equally studied. Perhaps it is because, partly, it is easier to study individuals and families in clinical or treatment situations than those in naturalistic situations of the daily life. Nevertheless, the study of preventive mechanisms of sexual risk behavior and, in general, of devious conduct of adolescents is important in spite of the apparent failure that appears as high rates of HIV/AIDS among Latinos.

The main object of this study, consequently, is double: (a) an evaluation of the so-called "Latino family concept" with the purpose of detecting the strong and weak points of its socializing function, and (b) an evaluation of the acculturation process of the Latino family to the North American culture.

It is clear that, when studying the preventive roll of the Latino family, we are opting for a healthy, and not pathogenic, conception of the individual, family, and public health. That is to say, we are interested in, like Antonovsky (1987), understanding the forces that can contribute to prevent risky conducts, whether they are sexual or drug consumption, frequently associated to those with the purpose of devising and implementing strategies of preventive intervention. The prevention has been recently called the step-daughter of medicine and public health, by an editorialist of New York Times, since it receives little attention in comparison with the essential and ample therapeutic field.

But the study of the Latino family in the U.S. and, especially, the analysis of their values and preventive factors of sexual risk behavior, take us to consider the acculturation process that affects these families and to evaluate their impact on their operation and performance of their socializing function. Our objective when analyzing family acculturation is triple: (a) to analyze that type of acculturation first of all that we will provisionally call pro-active; that is to say, that supposes a dynamic attitude on behalf of the Latino family. This, besides receiving the impact of the forces and values of the dominant culture, adopts, on the one hand, conducts of active

incorporation of elements of this culture and, on the other hand, consciously cultivates elements of its culture of origin until conforming a new model of "acculturated pro-active" Latino family or, if desired, bicultural; (b) From a panoramic of the epidemiologist situation of HIV/AIDS, the sexual risk behavior and premature pregnancies among Latino adolescents and young people, I will try to elaborate an etiological or causal model composed of a series of hypotheses, that mainly include the characteristics or elements of the acculturation process that harness (or, on the contrary, debilitates) the preventive socializing function of these conducts of the Latino family; (c) From our approach of clinical psycho-sociology, I will study the underlying theories to the most effective programs of preventive intervention of sexual risk behaviors and the obtained empirical findings in the evaluation of its results. These programs sometimes coincide with different sexual education classes that are offered in the United States of cross-sectional or parallel scholastic curriculums aimed for the adolescent population in general and, on several occasions, to the Latino adolescents in particular. I will try to review those scarce programs that demonstrate a greater sensitivity and cultural adaptation and that promise to be more effective when being applied in its present version or in an improved version that considers the findings of our etiological investigation.

The Situation of Reproductive Health of Latino Teens and Young People

The average of the sexually active Latino students in high school was 36% in 1999 as opposed to 33% of non-Latino and 53% African-American. According to the CFOC organization (Campaign for Our Children), 6 out of 10 female Latino teens are pregnant at least once before turning 20, whereas the rate among white non-Latino females is 4 out of 10. The national rate of pregnant teens was, in 1997, 97 per 1,000, whereas that of Latino teens was 165 per 1,000.

According to the preliminary data in 2000, the birth rate of Latino teens was the highest of all other ethnic groups. Among 15 to 19 year-old teens, the rate was of 94.4 per 1,000, double than the national rate of 48.7 per 1,000 births.

Puerto Rican women have changed the most in the last 30 years. They are the ones that marry the least, those that become head of the house, and that have more children at a younger age and before marrying. However, the Mexican-American and Cuban women marry most frequently and, therefore; they are heads of the household less frequently than Puerto Ricans. In general, families headed by women are the poorest. Poverty, the lack of sanitary attention, and the dependency on welfare institutions among teen mothers and their children is even more frequent. At the same time, the limited access to health services and the shortage of culturally adapted pregnancy prevention programs and sexual education seem to be partly responsible for that high birth rate among Latinos.

An interesting study of Anenshensel and cols. (1990) showed that Mexican-Americans born in Mexico had the lowest level of early sexual relations, but ended up pregnant more frequently when they did have intercourse because they opted less often for abortion. Therefore, their fertility rate was the highest. Mexican-Americans born in the U.S. occupied an intermediate position between those born in Mexico and non-Latino Whites. On the other hand, Anenshensel and cols. (1990) would want to diminish the fertility rate of Latino teens because it is associated to social, economic, and sanitary problems. For this, they propose that contraceptive methods be facilitated. Leo Chavez, a Mexican-American professor, indicates the relative character of that evaluation of fertility and the policies that try to reduce it among Latinos since, in his opinion, non-Latino White women in the U.S. are characterized to have comparatively low fertility rates that can lead to demographic changes and an increasing demand of immigration. In this clash of positions, what is in play is, on one hand, the fact that demographic considerations are not enough. It is necessary to weigh the cultural and social factors. That is to say, the values of Latinos are also in play without forgetting that the economic and social constrictions limit the field of free choice. Therefore, it would be necessary to modify the conditions of poverty and limited access to sanitary services of many Latino young people so that they could decide with a greater freedom margin.

Epidemiology of HIV/AIDS among Latino Teens and Young People

There are 10 million young people between the ages of 15 to 24 with HIV/AIDS in the U.S., according to the 2004 data. Half the new cases of infection in that country are among that age. Latinos of that age represent 20% of the new infections in this country. Fifty-four percent of the new infections occur among African-American. AIDS is the first cause of death of Latino men between 24 to 44 years, many of them infected during their teen years. Latino females represent almost 25% of the new cases, increasing their percentage from 15% in to 23% in 2002. This rate is five times higher than that of non-Latino White women. This is due partly to the propensity of Latino females of being courted by older men and to a combination of negative characteristics of the machismo, patriarchate, and culture of the masculine supremacy, which makes engaging in a dialog difficult and to negotiate the use of preservatives. Another important factor is the precarious access of Latinos to sanitary services due to a lack of economic resources and by a series of cultural barriers. Thus, 48% of Latinos, according to the Kayser Foundation, were diagnosed with HIV/AIDS too late in comparison with the 38% of African-Americans. Two sources of data that oppose in relation to the sexual risk behavior of Latinos are the use of condoms rose from 37.4% to 53.5%, whereas the alcohol ingestion before engaging in sexual relations also ascended from 17.8% to 24.1% from 1991 to 1999, according to the CDC.

AIDS among Latino Homosexuals

Half the Latino men infected by HIV in 2002 engaged in sex with other men; almost half of these men were born in Mexico. In the Northeast United States and in Puerto Rico, however, most of the infection cases occurred among injection drug addicts.

Three of the main reasons of the broad HIV/AIDS infection rate among homosexual men are (a) racism and poverty that produce a sense of impotence and lack of control in their sexual relations; (b) a stigma associated with AIDS and homosexuality causes the "sexual silence" that leads homosexuals to isolate themselves from their family support and preventive services, as well as inhibiting their capacity to negotiate safe sexual relations due to the cultural difficulties in the sexual communication; (c) the rigidity of the roles traditionally assigned to genders that make

homosexuals feel like "insolvent men," with a low self-esteem that increases the risk in situations in which they want to prove their "manly-hood." In addition, according to Rafael Diaz (2000), there is a weakening or collapse of will power among homosexuals when interiorizing the cultural norms as "cognitive scripts" that forces them to act non-reflective when it comes to their sexual conduct.

The Acculturation of the Mexican-American Family

The investigation has demonstrated that, in general, a major acculturation of the Mexican-American families in the North American society leads to a more frequent engaging in sexual risk behavior among its members. Nevertheless, the acculturation concept can be understood in various forms. The old concept of acculturation agreed with Gordon's concept of assimilation (1960), understood as a unidirectional process of adoption of the dominant culture in the receiving society on behalf of the immigrant family. Later it seemed immigrants not only adapted in conformist and passive attitudes to the guest culture, but they also influenced and contributed some elements of their origin culture. Now, psycho-sociology operates the concept as bidirectional and segmented; that is to say, that the adoption of guidelines of the dominant culture is differentiated when it is able to be in the leisure sphere, for example, but not in the parental-filial relations. It has been found that the social capital of Latino communities preventively acts through its strong social networks so that the rates of sexual risk behavior and teen pregnancy are lower than in other neighborhoods of less Latino density. Also, it has been stated that religion practiced by immigrants in their country of origin, whether it is Catholic or evangelical, also plays a preventive role and can serve as a brake to an indiscriminate acculturation of the family. For Rueschenberg and cols. (1995), the acculturation process affects the components of the external familiar system, such as the orientation toward independence or social mobility, but hardly to the internal familiar systems.

My explanatory-preventive model includes, therefore, the concept of "pro-active" acculturation, which describes the fact that immigrant families, as well as their members, are constantly making decisions (in a reflexive manner and within a more or less constrictive context) that best adjusts to

their integration plans in the receiving society. The concept of "sense of coherence" of Antonovsky (1987) is probably associated with that pro-active disposition more than with socioeconomic status, since their dimensions (comprehensibility, significance, and manageability) tie the perception that a person has with its social support network. Such association could serve as a normative reference to immigrants in their options of pro-active acculturation. Also, the perspective of "training for the bicultural effectiveness" of Szapocnik (1986) and the "evolutionary-ecological perspective" of Pantin and cols. (2004) are located in the same line of pro-activity and their object is to alleviate parental-filial conflicts related to the acculturation process by offering social support to the parents.

Latino Family Concept and Familiar Cohesion

The Latino family, after several generations, has hardly been affected in the operation of its "internal system," if we believe Rueschenberg and cols. (1995). This persistence of family nuclear values without a doubt is a source of strength and resistance to environmental difficulties. On the other hand, two specialists on Latino family, Baca Zinn (1989) and Tienda (1989), have rejected the model of "cultural deficiency" of the inferior classes, similar to the one of "culture of poverty" of the 1960s, for a lack of empirical evidence. It is not the consequent inertia of values inherited through generations, but the socioeconomic conditions that make the existence of motivations for social mobility in the Latino families unviable. Nevertheless, for the Chicano feminist critics, class, race, and gender continue being forces of oppression in the family and society. From these contrasting visions, Hurtado (1984) has coined the concept of "structural deficiency" divergent from the mere "cultural deficiency." The characteristics of the ethnic Latino family would only be adaptations to the structural limitations that must be confronted and are sources of strength and resistance, not of devious conduct. Examples include, the intense interaction with the kinship network, the place of residence, trusting women with health problems and men with domestic repairs, and turning to one's relatives of the same sex in economic and personal problems and as a source of social and emotional support (Hurtado, 1995).

Demography, Family Concept, and Other Values

Latino families are usually younger and generally have more children partly due to their Catholic roots that emphasize the value of the family, marriage, children, and the extensive family with their functions of mutual support networks. Latino families have 4.1 members on average, whereas non-Latino Whites only have 3.2 and African-American have 3.6 (Census, 1998).

The old patriarchal Latino family fulfilled, and still does to a certain extent, a series of positive functions: it stimulates the educative level, social mobility and health of its members, and the development of the communities in which they live. Nevertheless, the traditional Latino family has transformed in the U.S. throughout several generations. Today, its structural flexibility with which one adapts to the new conditions of the welcoming society is accentuated. For example, women's access to the labor market entails the transformation of masculine/feminine roles. The central importance of the family is due to the acute conscience of difficulty of economic conditions and the impact of these in the creation or exhibition to risk situations. For example, the rate of disorganization and cohabitation of the Puerto Rican families of the second generation to the continent, mainly to socioeconomic factors, has increased. But the transnational and binational family support networks and interaction have been maintained. In any case, the family concept continues being a central value in the different Latino cultures. Its nucleus is a strong affective commitment with the family life that has its expression in a variety of conduct guidelines.

The Family's Role in the Prevention of Sexual Risk Behavior

Most of the theories underlying preventive intervention programs focus on evolutionary approaches and concepts, such as those of attachment or affective bonds, socialization of gender, parental implication, inter-parental conflicts, parent's perception of their children's conduct, intergenerational conflict, auto-concept and self-esteem, etc.

There are other important concepts of the Latino culture used like "favoritism" that demands a personal relation and not merely functional between the educator or therapist and his/her students or patients. "Favoritism" is associated to the value of "respect," a strong feeling of one's own and other people's dignity.

There have been many characteristics of the family life that have demonstrated to be strong predictors of sexual risk behavior, such as the parents' education level, the presence of one or both parents in the family, the parents' supervision, parents' attitudes regarding sexual life, and the communication between mother and daughter regarding the sexual life and birth control, but, without a doubt, the connection between father and child is the most important protective factor for teens and, in particular, for the prevention of drug abuse and sexual risk behavior. Based on the abundant theoretical and empirical works of Patterson, Baumrind, Kumpfer, Dishion, Spoth, Brook, Kandel, and others, Project PCC-BRIDGE of the Californian group of investigation ETR (Lezin et al., 2004) tries to show how this parent-children connection acts as a protective factor and tries to understand the factors that determine or influence this connection with the purpose of identifying those elements that can fortify it and thus the effectiveness of preventive interventions oriented to the family. I will mention, following Lezin et al.. (2004), some of the components or determining elements of the PCC: attachment/affective bonds, affection/care, cohesion, support/affective implication, communication, supervision/control, concession of autonomy, and characteristics of the mother and father.

The prevention model which I propose in the Appendix focuses on the determining factors of parents-children connection and their impact on the intermediate variable attitudes toward sexual activity. As it can be seen, the relation between the situation variables, acculturation and parent-children connection (PCC), is mutual, reason why the investigation designs will be multivariate, transversal, or longitudinal, and will preferably make use of the estimation of structural equations and analysis of latent variables.

Therefore, I will elaborate a preventive intervention program that foments, on one hand, the "pro-active acculturation" and, on the other hand, the parent-children connection, (PCC) given of course that the parent's

socioeconomic status and educative level are related to their acculturation but are not object of modification in the short term in which preventive intervention activities are developed (View our model of sexual risk behavior prevention of Latino teens in the Appendix).

Main Hypotheses on the Preventive Roll of the Latino Family in Teens' Sexual Risk Behavior

1. At a smaller level of family acculturation, the greater delay of teen sexual activity and smaller probability of premature pregnancies, controlled by the level of income and educative level of the parents.

2. The more dominant and demanding Mexican-American mothers are, teen sexual experiences are more frequent.

3. The greater the affective attachment between parents and children, the greater the delay in teen sexual activity, controlled by the level of income and educative level of the parents.

4. Families where both biological parents are present, sexual risk behavior and premature pregnancies, more than other types of families, are controlled by the level of income and educative level of the parents.

5. Families with greater level of education and income are more effective in the prevention of teen sexual risk behavior than those with a lower educative level and income, controlled by the level of family acculturation.

6. The pro-active or bicultural acculturation of the parents is more strongly associated with its "sense of coherence" (Antonovsky, 1987) and with the resources of psycho-emotional resistance than with its socioeconomic status.

Main Hypotheses on the Effectiveness of Preventive Intervention Programs

1. The preventive programs oriented to the development of young people who focus on an education and quality sanitary care, part-time jobs, and

community voluntary works, are more effective than scholastic programs of training in social abilities.

2. The unity of programs of family rent complemented with the educative support to adolescent immigrants are more effective in the prevention of sexual risk behaviors than scholastic programs of training in social abilities.

3. The participation in drug abuse preventive programs makes sexual risk behavior and premature pregnancy less probable.

4. The affective attachment of children to the parents and the affective support of these are a preventive factor stronger than the participation in scholastic programs of training in social abilities.

Methods Reviewed in Studies

The sample size of the etiological studies are usually modest and are not always samples of probability as can be seen, for example, in the studies of Brook (1990), who uses convenience samples. A greater variety of sizes occurs in samples of evaluative investigations like those of Kirby (1994), 7.753 teens in the ENABL program, 3.058 teens in the Safer Choices program (Coyle 1996-2001).

The preferable design is experimental, but there always are quasi-experimental designs. The randomization unit is normally the school, since the programs try to improve the preventive formation and not only to the individual student. However, the randomization of a small number of schools makes the comparison between the experimental and control groups difficult. With the new multi-level software packages as BMPD5, one can analyze individual data as well as aggregates by school or classroom.

The methods of statistical analysis range from the simplest to the most sophisticated. Thus, for example, whereas in the evaluation program ENABL (Kirby, Korpi, Barth, & Cagampang, 1995), the authors resorted to Student "t" tests. Others, like Basen-Enquist et al. (1997), preferred a design of cohorts in their evaluation of the Safer Choices programs. Kirby et al. (1999) used an analysis of variance of two factors keeping "school" as

the random effect to consider the intra-class correlation in the evaluation of a program applied in schools in Seattle. In any case, the collection of data must allow matching questionnaires in the base line (pretest) and, at least, six months after the intervention.

Strategic Conclusions and Limitations

HIV/AIDS Research Synthesis Project: Compendium of HIV Preventioum Interventions with Evidence of Effectiveness (1999) of the CDC of the North American Ministry of Health and Human Services represented a step ahead and, simultaneously, a proof of little sensitivity toward ethnic and gender factors. None of the included programs were in Spanish, so there is no way of knowing whether they are effective or not with Latino teens. Public health policies would have to promote preventive strategies that recognize the contextual factors, such as socioeconomic conditions; cultural factors like norms regarding roles, race, and ethnicity; and, mainly, the inequalities in sanitary attention, instead of prioritizing the models of prevention that focus on the individual oriented toward the general population. As Barbara Marín (2003) said,

programs for teens and their parents are needed; in particular those oriented toward those teens that date older people. These programs must include an ample understanding of the Hispanic culture and the forms in which it can protect and expose people to sexual risk situations. There is a lack of investigation about programs that approach the roots of the lack of power (disempowerment). (p. 191)

Thus, to help give power to Hispanics they must overcome the obstacles that racism, sexism, and homophobia represent in society as a whole.

Among the most important limitations of the programs are the shortage of longitudinal designs and the insufficiency of time that ranges between the completion of the intervention and the measurement of the results, which hardly ever exceeds six months. Another difficulty is that that supposes to include exogenous, ecological, cultural, and interpersonal factors in a same model. On the other hand, the variety of national origins of Latinos in the U.S. diminishes the representation of the findings because it includes those

groups, who like the Argentineans and Bolivians, have a reduced presence in this country. Finally, given the shortage of culturally appropriate prevention programs, it seems prudent to extend the ethnographic and etiological investigation before constructing new programs for Latino teens.

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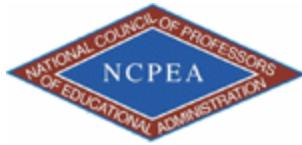
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Juan Luis Recio Adrados is a Professor Emeritus at the University Complutense, Madrid, Spain.

CHAPTER 22 Expansion of Mass Media in Spanish in the United States: The Success Story of La Opinión of Las Angeles

A Reflection on the Expansion of Mass Media in Spanish in the United States: The Success Story of La Opinión of Los Angeles

Dr. Juan José García

On October 2, 1808, the Spanish-speaking people of New Orleans found out that in May of that year, there had been an insurrection in Madrid. Five months before *El Misisipi,* the first newspaper in Spanish known in the United States, told the news (Gutiérrez, l980, p. 8).

While living in Denver, Colorado, in 1970, I had to go all the way to Mexico for two weeks merely to witness, on television, some of the matches of the World Soccer Championship that were being held there.

On February 23, 1981, the day that Spain came close to losing its democracy with the assault to Congress, I, being in my apartment in Pasadena, was shocked to hear the events on a damaged old radio that I had while narrating it to colleagues and professors of the university on the phone.

Nowadays, one can follow the important events in Spain and of the whole world: newspapers, radios, and televisions in Spanish no longer have borders and we can follow all the events. Besides, the great spider web has caught us all in its network, putting the communication channels within reach.

43.5 Million

I will tell a couple of brief personal experiences because I include myself within the 43.5 million Hispanics or Latinos in the United States (Synovate, *U.S. Hispanic Market Report 2004* -I am going to use his numbers inrest of thislecture). I see that in Spain they continue to speak of 40 million Hispanic or Latinos in the United States, all of whom are being reached by all the internal and external mass media, as well as domestic politicians and those of other countries, for they think that that enormous human group "still speaks Spanish," according to the poem "Ode to Roosevelt" by Rubén Darío (1867-1916). At least they speak or they act as if they believed it.

The good thing is that they consider us important. The bad thing is that it is not true that the 43.5 million or more Hispanics or Latinos of the last updated census in fact speak Spanish. Perhaps it does not matter, since it is not about getting to the head or heart of anybody, but to our pockets or to "add a ballot to the box," as María would say to José Gabriel and Galán. We are important as a group for sure in that sense, due to the fact that we are becoming more and more numerous and more well off, and we have learned our way to the ballot boxes perfectly well. Almost eight million Latinos (7,593,536) voted in the general elections of 2004, according to the Office of the Census, 2.1% more than in 2000 (5,934,258). The data reveal that 16,088,000 Latinos above 18-years-old were qualified to vote in 2004. Fifty-seven point nine percent registered and only 47.2% voted, as opposed to the data, in 2000, 13,158,000 were able to vote, 57.3% registered, and 45.1% voted.

On the other hand, perhaps it might be useful to stress the statistics. According to the Census of 2000 in the United States, Hispanics were then 35.3 million, or 12.5% of the population of the country, and predicted to be 43.5 million this year, 14.7% of the population. Of these, a little over 24

million would have been born within national territory and the rest in foreign countries. This Census anticipated a Hispanic population of more than 80 million (20%) by 2020. By 2050, more than 154 million or 30% of the population of the United States are expected to be Hispanic.

I could be among the 40 million García of the United States, the Pérez and the Fernández that will be around. But those who "still speak Spanish," to return to Rubén Darío, are becoming fewer although there are many more that do understand spoken and written Spanish. From this comes the necessity to distinguish between diverse mass media types should be employed to reach the Hispanics in the United States.

First Things First

Everything began with a word pronounced before the beginning of the world; I paraphrase the first verse of the Gospel according to St. John, which immediately speaks of the three people, and with it, it indicates that community demands communication, since "my thoughts are enough to walk along by myself" (Antonio Machado), even though the poet does not even say that thoughts come hidden in the meaning of the word. Words are not only the essential instrument of communication, but the essence itself of mass media. By means of photography, film, illustrations, and music that are used to send messages, the receiver explains the meanings to himself with words.

The three traditional ways of communication with Hispanics in the United States are the written press (newspapers, magazines, pamphlets, etc.), radio, and television. With the elements that I have successfully obtained with the aid of my companions, especially Olga Casabona to whom I owe the statistics, I am going to make an outline of today's status of the written and electronic press (radio and television) in the United States before I speak of my own newspaper, *La Opinón* of Los Angeles.

Electronics

As I indicated in the beginning, in 1970 I traveled to Mexico with the sole purpose to "witness" soccer on television, and that in 1981, I had to find a

way to follow the assault to Spanish congress. Nowadays, I do not even have to leave my chair, or bed for that matter, to follow the king sport or the eventful journeys of the Parliament. Two weeks ago, I flipped through the channels on my television and noticed that at 11 in the morning, eight television channels were giving the daily news in Spanish. Six television chains, plus one or two independent channels, cover the national territory 100%. The three three major ones: *Univisión, Telemundo of NBC, and Televisión Azteca*. These also have smaller chains—*Galavisión* and *Telefutura* are of *Univisión*, and *Telemundo* has *Mun2*. That is not counting the sport chains in Spanish –*ESPN Deportes, Fox Deportes,* and *GolTV*.

There is a constant dispute over the famous "ratings" 24 hours a day; ratings that will provide television companies with millions of dollars. The rest is done by their local affiliates that provide competition to attract more people. In Los Angeles, for example, the 6 pm news of KMEX Channel 34 (*Univisión*) attracts the most viewers in the great metropolitan zone, even more than those in English.

Radio

Radio is another phenomenon that has acquired stratospheric dimensions. More than 600 radio stations of AM and FM frequencies tell us the news, give conversation, allow dialogue, make us laugh, facilitate social services to us, and make us sing and dance to all the rhythms and music of the Hispanic world. Both of the top national programs in the morning as far as the number of listeners tuned in are Hispanic radio stations of Los Angeles. The programs of "The Piolín in the Morning" and "El Cucuy," have the highest listener indexes in the country with their jokes and services between 4 and 11 in the morning. The first one is by the Mexican announcer Eddie Sotelo, and the second with the Honduran Renán Almendárez Coit.

Written Press

In addition to the newspapers of the countries of origin, the Hispanic or Latinos of the United States have more than 1,500 publications in daily and weekly newspapers, big and small, that compete to inform the million García, Fernández, Pérez, etc. This is not counting several magazines with

national reach, and keeping in mind that great national publications have versions in Spanish. *People, Vanity, National Geographic*, and *Good Housekeeping* are available as *People en Español, Vanidades, National Geographic en Español*, and *Buen Hogar* not to mention the magazines directed to concrete groups like *Hispanic Business* of Santa Barbara, California; *Latino Leaders, the National Magazine of the Successful American Latino*, of Texas; and others. *People en Español* is the highest selling Spanish-language magazine. Though new publications are rare in any language, the magazines *Tu Ciudad*, written in English, and *Hombre* (bilingual) have just been released.

Declining Language

It makes me scoff to hear talk of the 40 or more million Hispanics that want to be reached by all publications written in Spanish for the simple reason that it is not true. That amount indicates the existence of individuals of Hispanic ancestry, the ones who use Spanish as the language in which they communicate. The Census, specialized studies, and surveys reveal that the first generation of immigrants speak Spanish almost exclusively and hardly attempt to speak in English. They are the ones that read the news in Spanish. Their children speak English and a little Spanish. Many dominate the language if their parents made them learn it and teach it to their children in turn, who already usually read the news in English and a little in Spanish. They understand the language of their parents, but use it very little. Many only use it to speak with grandparents. The third generation; the grandchildren of immigrants, no longer speak, read, or understand Spanish. They do not feel comfortable or safe maintaining a conversation in that language. However, marketing research studies detect a possible tendency for Hispanic youth to recover the paternal language because it seems "cool" to speak it.

The Spanish language is not the only one that is in that situation, as I see every day in my daughter's school patio, where the Korean, the Togolese, the Armenian, and Spanish will die unless the gods intervene. Consequently, it is easy to deduce that the average writings in Spanish basically serve the first generation of immigrants and in a smaller degree, the second. From that comes the necessity to reach the English-speakers of

the 43.5 million Hispanics with English or bilingual publications. For example, of the 207 publications with more than 11 million copies of global circulation that form the National Association of Hispanic Publications, 127 are published in Spanish (58%), 68 are bilingual (31%), and 25 (11%) are written in English (*2004 Convention Average Kit*, p. 46). The numbers used in marketing research indicate that the dominant language of 63% of the Hispanics born outside the U.S. is Spanish, as opposed to the 14% that prefer English, and 23% that use both languages. This shows that the second generation communicates in English between themselves, as well as in Spanglish, as it is easily noticed in the streets or in any school patio.

Specialists in marketing research divide the population more or less in those categories (Spanish, English, Bilingual) for they calculate that the spending power of the Latinos at the moment half a billion dollars per annum and that will pass into the trillions by 2010. Advertisers strive to reach as many people as possible, taking into account the diverse linguistic abilities from tens of millions of Hispanics.

La Opinión, Fidelity and Symbiosis

In order to understand *La Opinión*, founded in 1926, it is necessary to speak of *La Prensa* of San Antonio, Texas (1913). Both are creations of the Mexican Ignacio Eugenio Lozano, exile of the Revolution at the beginning of the 20th century in his country, and both newspapers represent the founder's personality, historical reality, and the necessities of a time and community to which they serve or served at concrete moments.

Lozano conceived and published his weekly magazine-cum-newspaper in 1913. It was clear that his newspaper, done "by Mexicans, for Mexico and the Mexicans," was the connection between the new town and the one the readers left behind. In fact, those who did *La Prensa* conceived it as "the voice of Mexico from outside," as "the official organ of the great Mexican family in the United States," and as "the bond of union between that colony and its native country."

Before moving ahead, I must say that I owe this information to Jose C. Valadés, history of *La Prensa* from 1913 to 1937, that was published

February 13, 1938, with the title of "One Man, One Newspaper." The cultural supplement of *La Opinión*, *La Communidad*, was published weekly between September 6, 1982, and January 2, 1983. I have taken advantage of diverse things published and heard in the newspaper for the 23 years that I have in the company, especially interviews with or with memories of those who made both newspapers.

Valadés, a first generation writer of *La Prensa*,never lost sight that Mexicans living in the United States have "a life that is not the one they left across the Rio Bravo in Mexico," and that they have to comply to the new reality. This raises the challenge that all publications in Spanish in the United States have to accept by being from "there and here" that we all like to be told the gossip of the town we left behind. We inform readers as to who is the mayor of the new town, how to register children in school, where and how to take them to the doctor, what rights they have as residents, even if they are undocumented aliens, and what resources they have at hand to reach the happy and highly praised "American dream." They must indicate to the reader that it is important to know about their country of origin and the entire world, but they must also know what happens in the educational meetings of their school district. This is a mission, more than a job that Ignacio Lozano marked in his two creations: *La Prensa* of San Antonio in 1913, and *La Opinión* of Los Angeles in 1926. The first one was sold in 1957. The second, *La Opinión*, continues to be as strong as ever.

Lozano arrived at San Antonio at 22 years of age and had a family to care for; his widowed mother and several brothers. Soon, he realized that the community he lived in wanted and needed to know what was happening in his revolutionary Mexico of which many had left to save and feed themselves. For that reason, the workers of the newspaper considered the company as a patriotic mission, without forgetting that "here is not there." In fact, the founder had a universal mind and opened an editorial and a bookstore where they sold Spanish books, and workers even dressed up as *Don Juande Zorrilla* and *Juan José* (1890) of *Joaquin Dicenta*. This indicates that an element of the mission of the Lozano newspapers was the cultural promotion of the readers.

Phases of La Opinión

Like *La Prensa* of San Antonio, *La Opinión* was born in Los Angeles with the mission to serve the great Mexican colony that had moved from Texas to California. It was hard going in the beginning, but the first issue reached the streets September 16, 1926, the Mexican Independence Day. To undertake the uncertain mission of publishing that day was an indisputable signal of its vocation and mission: to serve as guide to the just arrived Mexican community and to defend it from the abuse to which it was exposed. *La Opinión* fulfilled its purpose. It was the only newspaper of Los Angeles that protested energetically against the massive deportation of Mexicans, including the U.S. citizens among them, during the Great Depression.

In 1953, the founder passed away and his son Ignacio Jr. took charge. *La Opinión* entered its second phase, that of being a North American newspaper written in Spanish. It then lost the exclusive title of "Mexican, done by Mexicans for the Mexicans." It turned into a local newspaper for all those who wanted general information in Spanish. In the mid-1970s, the third generation of Lozano's took over and the newspaper fulfilled their commitment to serve as a bridge to the thousands of Latin American immigrants. These are the years during which exiles of Central and South America fled from dictators ruling in their countries. *La Opinión* became their main source of information about their countries and the new one in which they lived. They also made it "theirs." "I want *our* newspaper be the best," as I was told by an Argentinean while complaining about some errors that appeared. *La Opinión* expanded enormously in that decade.

The 1980s were marked by the so called amnesty or legalization of 1986, a law that facilitated the regularization of more than three million Latinos in the country. More than half of those resided in Los Angeles. *La Opinión* was at the front of the information with pamphlets aimed to make sure that nobody was left behind. More than 1.5 million copies of a single pamphlet made and published by the newspaper were distributed throughout the nation.

In California, the community underwent anti-immigrant attacks shaped in the so called Proposal 187 that denied benefits to undocumented people. *La Opinión* fought it to the end when the voters approved it, even though it was

soon declared unconstitutional almost totally by the courts. The "sanctuary movement;" that is, the protection of immigrants, considered the newspaper as a fierce defendant in that decade. Proposal 187 instilled a strange energy in the diverse Latino communities of California, which understood the necessity of being united for a collective defense.

That negative energy was freed in the 1990s. That decade marked by efforts, campaigns, and expenses aimed to help Latinos become citizens and make sure they were registered to vote, and in that way, to direct their future. Proposal 187 taught them that one's vote is the weapon of progress, and that the Latinos that had regularized their migratory situation thanks to the reform of 1986 arrived with the desire to be noticed. Among other things, they supplanted the Republican Party in state positions of the general election. *La Opinión* took advantage at every moment.

These days, *La Opinión* watches its surroundings where at least 7 million Hispanics with a consumption power of more than one billion dollars live, but are still exposed to discrimination. Conscious that the community renews itself without stopping and that anyone that has just arrived is in need of information in Spanish, it has to provide information about all the resources necessary to give a deep and extensive vision of the new reality. The subjects of immigration, health, education, and security, to only mention few examples, are the priorities of the daily task.

Fusion

In January 2004, *La Opinión* became part of *impreMedia*, a publication chain in Spanish with the goal of reaching all Hispanics or Latinos in the country. At the moment, three publications form the chain: *La Opinión* of Los Angeles, *El Diario/La Prensa* of New York, and the weekly magazine *La Raza* of Chicago. Their intention is to create a national Hispanic newspaper group with the mission to cover relevant subjects in the community at a national, regional, and local scope, with sections accommodated to the diverse facets of every day. At the same time, the new company respects the individuality of each one of the present and future parts. Of the 13.9 million Hispanic residents in the cities with presence of *impreMedia* –New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles— 12.1 million (87%)

speak Spanish to some degree, and for 63% (8.7 million), Spanish is the dominant language. However, only about two million read one of the three newspapers weekly.

La Opinión in Numbers

Circulation: 126,628 units on average Monday through Friday, number as of March, 2004.

Readers: 47,319 on daily average (Scarborough 2005)

717,500 in a combined average on Saturday and Sunday

La Opinión online: 750,000 users a month (March 2005)

Penetration: 62% of the market in south California

Recognition: 92%-94% of the population of the region

Audited growth: 26% in the four last years

Points of sale: 14,930

Competition

La Opinión has always had competition. When it first started in 1926, there were two newspapers being published in Spanish in Los Angeles. *Los Angeles Express* was born in the 1970s and *El Diario de México* and *Noticias del Mundo* in the 1980s. All disappeared after several years. Recently, *Hoy* from the Chicago Tribune chain appeared; so have publications with the same name in New York and Chicago. In addition to *Hoy*, published five days a week and distributed freely, other publications compete with *La Opinión* in the local market (for example, a bilingual publication chain in east Los Angeles and weekly magazine *Excélsior* in Santa Ana). Publications directed to concrete groups appear and disappear frequently; for example, *El Peruano* and *La Prensa Colombiana*. From San Francisco to San Diego, all cities with a Hispanic presence, publications in

Spanish exist. There is a long list of awarded Hispanic publications in the diverse categories by the National Association of Hispanic Publications.

Spanish language newspapers are expanding nation-wide. For example, *The Dallas Morning News* publishes *Al Día* five times a week, and *The Fort Worth Star-Telegram* publishes *Diario La Estrella*. *Mexiamérica* just put four tabloids on the Texan border, the first newspaper network in Spanish in Texas: *Rumbo de Austin, Rumbo de Houston, Rumbo de San Antonio,* and *Rumbo del Valle*. The common title reveals the intention to be in the way of those that "go north."

All the media in Spanish want to sell and inform in Spanish, but they are looking for the most suitable language to speak to those that are of "here and there," but the here and there of Hispanics in the United States is very diverse, as much as the places where they live and those of their origin. In addition to the class of information they offer, the attitude of publications before their readers will determine their success or failure. If they guess right, the reading public will reward them.

Competition has always forced *La Opinión* to surpass itself, and now it has the mission to support other local sources of intelligence for Hispanics in the country. It will try to instill the spirit that has vivified it for almost 79 years of life: that of not losing the point of view of the readers' necessities. In 1990, *La Opinóon* sold 50% of its sharesto Times Mirror Corp., wombof the *Los Angeles Times*. The news caused consternation, sadness, and rage between many of its readers who feared a loss of independence. An executive, for example, requested a minute of silence in his office as symbol of mourning. A reader expressed sadness "because we had something by and for Hispanics without having to give explanation to anybody" (*La Opinión,* p.1).

La Opinión has always lived by the infallible principle that I learned many years ago in the *Universidad de la Barberia de Mi Padre* in Olivia de Plasencia, Cáceres: To teach Latin to Pedro, it is more important to know Pedro than to know Latin. In order to serve the reader, the reader has to be known. This is something that nobody has done in the United States better than my newspaper. Conscious to sinning of superficiality, that is in broad strokes the history of *La Opinión* of Los Angeles, California; a history

kneaded with a mutual fidelity that produced a total symbiosis with its readers.

Dr. Juan José García is professor for the institution of immigrants, Talayuela, Extremadura, Spain.